HISTORY OF ART IN SARDINIA AND JUDÆA.

HISTORY OF

Art in Sardinia, Judæa, Syria, and Asia Minor.

FROM THE FRENCH

OF

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AND

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ILLUSTRATED WITH FOUR HUNDRED AND SIX ENGRAVINGS, AND EIGHT STEEL AND COLOURED PLATES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE names of MM. Perrot and Chipiez are so universally known, the former for his all-embracing archæological knowledge and infinite capacity in taking pains, the latter as an eminent architect, that the announcement of a joint production of theirs cannot fail to excite the curiosity of the public, taught by experience to look for good solid work at their hands. I venture to predict that the hopes thus raised will be more than satisfied, both in point of interest and in the wide range of the subject-matter contained in the present work, which maintains in full the high level of the preceding volumes.

With regard to my humble part as translator, I can only hope that my sins of omission and commission properly to handle so recondite and vast a subject will not be too severely judged by the critical reader.

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A HISTORY OF ART IN SARDINIA AND JUDÆA.

SARDINIA.

CHAPTER I.

NATIVE ART.

§ 1.—*Inland Tribes. Division of the Island between Aborigines and Punic Colonists. Early Inhabitants and some Hypotheses in regard to their Origin.*

In the plan of campaign which we have undertaken, to collect on the shores of the Mediterranean the scattered remains of Phœnician art or rather industry, we have frequently borrowed from the necropoles of Tharros, Caralis, and other cities of Sardinia, founded by Tyre and Carthage. The objects recovered in those tombs served to supplement, in a certain degree, the insufficiency of the "finds" yielded by the Syrian explorations, and enabled us to determine the general characteristics of Punic industrial productions. To this end we paid more than one visit to Sardinia; and its shores were made the field of our investigations as likely repositories of the spoils left by Punic merchants and settlers; for there and nowhere else do we meet with their sepulchral memorials.

It seems to be pretty well established that the Phœnicians kept to the coast, and did not penetrate far into the interior; had they done so, traces of their settlements would have been discovered.

They do not seem, however, to have extended their occupation beyond the narrow zones of buildings or suburbs to the rear of their seaports, and the plain, about a hundred kilometres from north to south, which lies between the Gulf of Cagliari and that of Oristano. In the hands of intelligent and industrious owners this marshy tract, known in the present day as Campidano, would be reclaimed and again become, as in olden times, the most productive portion of the island. Here Carthage had established, protected no doubt by fortified posts, compact groups of Libyo-Phœnicians, that is, people of African race, who had adopted the language, the religion, and the customs of their Punic masters.[1] They had directed the course of the waters and drained the ground under notice, applying the same enlightened methods that had been successfully practised at the foot of Lebanon and around Sidon and Tyre, but which now is intersected by lagoons exuding abroad miasmas inimical to human life.

It is probable that the copper and lead mines (the latter containing a certain proportion of silver) found in the low hills between the plain and the sea, were worked by gangs of war prisoners and slaves, under the supervision of Carthaginian engineers. This district, now called Iglesias, was subject to Sulcis, a town built by the Tyrians in the small island of Sant' Antioco, divided from Sardinia by a narrow arm of the sea (Fig. 1);[2] a well-sheltered roadstead facilitated the shipping of the ore.[3] Thus the Phœnicians had secured the means of turning to account the natural riches of the country; they had refrained, however, to occupy the volcanic brakes to the north-west,

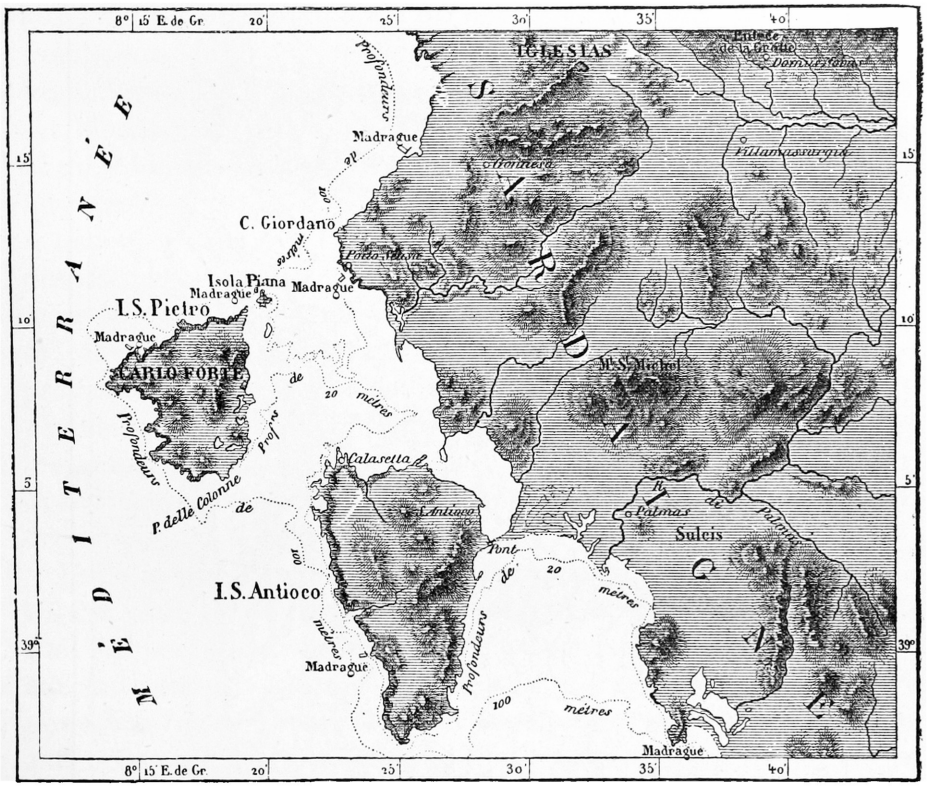
[1] We read in Diodorus that the Carthaginians who, among other cities in Sicily, had built Theuma, sent to Sardinia some of their own citizens as well as Libyans, willing to emigrate (XIII. lxix. 8); whilst Cicero in his defence of Scaurus, impeached by the Sardinians, has the following words: "A Pœnis admixto Afrorum genere Sardi, non deducti in Sardiniam atque ibi constituti, sed amandati et repudiati coloni" (*Pro Scauro*, xix. 42).

[2] The name of Sulcis has survived; but it is now given to the tract of land which faces *Sant' Antioco*, and which formerly belonged to Sulcis city.

[3] M. Pais observes that no ancient text is extant to show that mines were worked by the Carthaginians in Sardina; that all the passages having reference to the mineral riches of the island, belong to the Roman period, and that no archæological discovery has hitherto supplemented the silence of old writers. Yet it is hardly conceivable that the presence of lead in the vicinity of Sulcis city, of silver in the basins of *Iglesias* and *Sarrabus*, can have escaped the observation of such skilful metallurgists as were the Phœnicians; and had they ascertained the existence of these ores, they must have tried to extract them.

or the valleys and the high *plateaux* supporting the shistose and granitic range which covers the whole eastern side of the island, whose highest summits are the Gigantinu, Ballestreri, and Gennargentu.[1]

These rude, warlike tribes of shepherds and woodmen, were with difficulty subdued by the military genius of Rome, whom


8° 15' E. de Gr.
20'
25'
30'
35'
40'
15'
10'
5'
39°
MER MEDITERRANÉE
SARDAIGNE
IGLESIAS
Madrague
C. Giordano
Isola Piana
Madrague
I.S. Pietro
Madrague
CARLO FORTE
Mt. S. Michel
Calasetta
Antioco
Palmas
Suleis
I.S. Antioco
Madrague
Madrague
Profondeurs de 20 mètres
Profondeurs de 100 mètres
Profondeurs de 20 mètres
Profondeurs de 100 mètres
Profondeurs de 20 mètres
Profondeurs de 100 mètres

trees, almost as dangerous as forests to the invader, and almost as favourable to the invaded in a warfare of ambush and sudden



FIG. 2.—Sardinia.

surprises (Fig. 2). Another safeguard for these populations was their extreme poverty; possessing nothing which tempted

cupidity, they were unmolested and not deemed worth fighting for. But the importance of possessing Sardinia was rendered evident to the Romans during the first Punic war, and at the conclusion of peace they lost no time in carrying out their scheme.[1] The subjection of the island, in which the Senate employed eight years, 235–237, was achieved by no half measures, lest the Carthaginians should find auxiliaries still armed and willing to facilitate their return and reassume the offensive. Two consuls, Pomponius Matho and Sempronius Gracchus, on their return from Sardinia, obtained the honours of a triumph. The former set bloodhounds, trained for the purpose, to track the natives out of their hiding places (ZONARAS, viii. 18). But when the Romans, fifty-three years later, confined their occupation to the seaports, a general rising was the result, and Sempronius Gracchus was despatched to quell the insurrection. He it was who caused an inscription to be put up where he boasted that he had destroyed or taken 80,000 Sardinians (LIVY, III. xli. 28). The work of pacification commenced by the Roman legions was finally completed here, as in many other provinces under the empire, by means of roads, which ran through jungles, narrow passes, marshes, over impetuous rivers, along rocky ledges, and over the steepest declivities.

Even in the time of Augustus, the mountaineers would descend to the plain to destroy the harvest and carry off the cattle; and the Roman prætors, conscious of being inadequately supported, affected sometimes ignorance for acts of rapine which they were powerless to punish, rather than engage in a pursuit as inglorious and arduous as it was doubtful.[2] The enormous expenditure in money and men which Rome had to pay had not been attempted by the Phœnicians, satisfied with having in their own hand the control of all the maritime pathways. But the march of events

[1] The thought of seizing Sardinia had suggested itself to the Romans from the day they had a navy, an idea which they carried out when they beheld Carthage wasted by the wars with the mercenaries. The cession of the island was ratified by a treaty (POLYBIUS, I. xxiv. 7; I. lxxxviii. 8, 12; III. x., xxvii., xxviii.).

[2] STRABO, V. ii. 7—Diodorus, who wrote about the same time, says that these tribes were still unsubdued ἄχειρωποὶ πολεμία δυναμιναν (V. xv. 5); whilst Livy, relating an expedition against the Ilienses (181), the chief tribe on the eastern coast, calls them: "gens ne nunc quidam omni parte pacata" (xl. 34). It was on account of these depredations that Augustus took the island from the senate and declared it an imperial province (DION CASSIUS, lxv. 25). Nor had these incursions and acts of violence discontinued under Tiberius (TACITUS, *Annals*, ii. 85).

urged Carthage into a line of conduct which had been undreamt of by Tyre. Strong in the foothold she had gained in the island, she created armies for the purpose of keeping the barbarians in check, reducing them into farmers to cultivate the soil, and miners to extract the native ores for her sole benefit. But although her policy was successful wherever it was tried, she does not seem to have cared to add much to the belt of land nor to the populations which owned her sway to the rear of her more important stations. The wars carried on in Sardinia in the sixth century B.C. by Malcus, and later by Asdrubal and Hamilcar, sons of Mago, founder of the military power of Carthage, were not directed against, or at least did not result in, crushing the Highlanders, or in depriving them of their independence.[1]

Sardinian coin, which later found its way to the Roman market, was at this time a considerable import of Carthage, and if many a time she was saved from famine or surrender, notably during the African insurrection and when Agathocles held the surrounding country, it was due to the grain convoys from Caralis.[2] The subjection of Sardinia may be deduced from the treaty concluded between Rome and Carthage in 509, where Sardinia is placed on the same level and is spoken of as a country entirely and indisputably her own, whilst she makes no claims on Sicily beyond the "portion of the island subject to Carthage."[3]

This state of affairs continued two hundred and fifty years; nor does it appear to have been disturbed during the bloody contentions which Carthage sustained in Sicily and Africa, against the Greeks and the Romans, since none of her forces were told off to put down a general revolt of the Sardinian tribes.[4] Encoun-

[1] All we have to go by are some vague, obscure words (JUSTIN, xviii. 7; xix. 1) referring to Malcus's reverses and the successes of Asdrubal and Hamilcar. But this dry abbreviator enters into no details upon the incidents of those struggles nor upon the sites in which they occurred.

[2] That the position of Carthage in her war against the mercenaries was greatly aggravated by her loss of the island is clearly indicated by Polybius when he says, "That she was found to have relinquished Sardinia, whose possession in critical straits had been of the utmost value to her" (POLY., I. lxxxii. 7; DIODOR., XIV. lxiii. 4; lxxvii. 6; xxi. xvi.).

[3] POLY., III. xxiii. 5.

[4] The occasion which served the Romans for a pretext to seize Sardinia was caused by a revolt of the mercenaries whom Carthage kept there, and not by the insurrection of the native tribes (POLY., I. lxxxix). The islanders did not take up the defensive until they saw these mercenary bands broken up by their own

ters between the Phœnician settlers in possession of the seaboard and the outlying plain, and the pillaging mountaineers, doubtless frequently occurred at various points of the country; nevertheless, by the very force of circumstances, some kind of friendly intercourse sprang up throughout the island between the barbarous natives and the more civilized colonists, all the more lasting that it rested on the common interests of both parties, and which seems to have continued down to the Roman conquest. Nor did it stop here; the refining influences by which they were surrounded could not fail to work their salutary and beneficent effect, and to smooth away some of the most angular asperities of these savages. Thus when affrays had been unknown on the borders, and when neither slaves nor cattle had been missed for a while, the Highlanders, clad in goatskin-capes, as their wont is in the present day, descended to the seaports for the purpose of barter, bringing with them milch cheese, leather, and wool, which they exchanged for industrial products of the simplest and most elementary kind, such as implements, domestic utensils and apparel, which the rudest savage deems indispensable as soon as he has learnt their use.

Under conditions such as these, aided too by the military service which Carthage imposed upon her colonies, it was natural that the condition of the aborigines should have improved, and that they themselves should have been placed on the lower grades of civilization. Nor is this merely conjectural; Sardinians are stated to have been in the Carthaginian armies, fighting the battles in Spain, Italy, and notably Sicily, or formed the garrisons in their African fortresses.[1] Shut up within the thick walls of Carthage or Utica, the foreign soldier scarcely if ever mixed with city life. He was

dissensions, when it was comparatively easy to repulse and compel them to fall back upon Italy. There followed a time of anarchy, during which the Romans interfered, called in too, perhaps, by Phœnician colonists, to re-establish order, and defend the threatened cities.

[1] The Sardinians are among the people mentioned by HERODOTUS (vii. 165) as having supplied mercenaries to Carthage in the campaign which terminated with the battle of Himera, 480; whilst both DIODORUS (XIV. xv. 1., 392 A.C.) and STRABO (V. ii. 7) refer to similar aid in the wars Carthage sustained against Rome. M. PAIS, in an able article heading the first volume of the second series of the *Bolletino Archæ. Sardo* (1884), disposes of the opinion that the Σαρδόνιοι of Herodotus are the Sardones of southern Gaul, and he argues that if the Sardinians so rarely figure among Phœnician mercenaries, that is probably due to their being confounded with the Libyans.

dreaded as an instrument of destruction and disorder in the communities against which the ambitious designs of Carthage happened at the time to be directed; and he emerged from his strongholds only to plunder, set fire and otherwise destroy whatever came to his hand. The sharpest contests, however, have intervals of tranquillity and enforced truces, when the novel spectacle presented by the resources and appliances of civilized life, must have struck his imagination and awakened in him a desire to imitate or adopt some of them. Certain facts, the bearing of which was at first imperfectly understood, can only be explained by the light of some such understanding between the two groups. In the interior of the island, where the Phœnicians had no settlements, on many a point where the natives preserved their independence down to the Roman empire, scores of statuettes of deities, men and animals, arms, implements, model boats, pottery, and other objects in bronze have been unearthed; which from the outset were recognized as differing from similar works of the Roman period met in the same region, both in conception and workmanship.

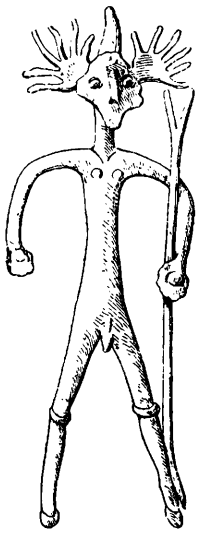


FIG. 3.—Spurious Sardinian bronze. La Marmora, *Voyage*, ii. *Atlas*, Plate XVIII., Fig. 3.

All these architectural and sculptured remains exhibit features that in some respects recall Phœnician art, and include, besides the objects enumerated above, those towers of singular appearance called núraghs, as well as figures found in the *débris* on the ground immediately surrounding them. But little was known of Phœnician civilization some forty years ago, for the attention of savants had not yet been directed to study it in the ruins of Syria, one of its best authenticated centres, which retains so much that is unexplored, so that the otherwise eminent archæologist, Gerhard, assigned a Phœnician origin to the núraghs and figures under consideration; but recent discoveries have shown the fallacy of the views put forth by the German student.[1] Owing

[1] *Ueber die Kunst der Phœnicier* (1856), and in *das Gesammelta Akademische Abhandlungen*, published by the Berlin Academy, at Plates xli., xliv., xlv., will be found reproductions of núraghs and Sardinian figures, including a reprint of Gerhard's paper, in which the following words occur: "I have no hesitation in declaring that I consider the numerous round edifices of Sardinia to be monuments

to imperfect knowledge, numbers of so-called "Sardinian bronzes" were purchased as genuine by the unwary, and were given prominent places in museums and public collections, from which a better informed judgment has banished them; nor is there reason to fear that whole systems will ever be raised again on these spurious pieces;[1] whilst the explorations of Vogué and Renan, the subtle criticism of Longpérier, and the discoveries of M. de Cesnola, have yielded materials upon which the real nature of Phœnician art may be adequately studied. Once this is grasped, the difficulty of assigning a proper place to the monuments under notice disappears; for if they exhibit, both in form, manipulation, and some of the details characteristics recalling Phœnician art, yet viewed as a whole, they retain an unmistakable originality of their own. Neither núraghs nor figures strictly approach the typical works of the Phœnicians in Syria or Africa, which we have described in another place. But without going further, the question may be decided upon the traces left by a remote age in Sardinia itself. The site of scores of Phœnician seaports is known in the present day, but neither here nor in their immediate neighbourhood do we meet those round towers which seem to belong exclusively to Sardinia; whilst they are numerous in the districts formerly occupied by native independent tribes. The tombs of these maritime cities have in abundance stone, clay, glass, and metal objects. That they are of Phœnician origin is shown in their make and the inscriptions graven on the stelas found in these tombs. On the other hand, terra-cottas, jewelry, amulets, etc., of Phœnician workmanship are exceedingly rare in the interior of the island, where they are replaced by vases, figures, utensils, and implements not generally found in the cemeteries of Sulcis, Nora, Caralis, and Tharros.

Excavations confirm, therefore, the testimony of historians, that

of Baal, raised to him by his worshippers as a fire deity." Further, he rejects the hypothesis which ascribes these monuments to the early inhabitants of the island; while he is equally confident that the "Sardinian idols" of La Marmora represent severally the Phœnician household gods, the national deities, Baal, Moloch, and Astarte, together with the Cabiri.

[1] The name of the artists (?) who worked for La Marmora, and manufactured the small figures which he has described, is known now at Cagliari. They traded upon his enthusiasm, and made him pay dearly for his archæological inexperience. These figures usurped for years a place in the museums of Turin and Cagliari. See PAIS, *Alcune osservazioni sulla genuinità di una gran parte delli idoli del La Marmora* (*La Sardegna*, Appendix II.). Rome, 1881.

for many centuries Sardinia was inhabited by two distinct races, which lived side by side on a friendly footing with each other, but which never mixed or amalgamated into one. If the coasts, except towards the east, and the extensive plain towards the south-west, were occupied by Carthaginian and African colonists in the full enjoyment of the highest civilization then known, the centre, east, and north of the island were in the hands of a people of whose origin and language we have no positive knowledge. But however rude, and although possessed of neither books nor inscriptions, they have left us specimens of their work in their architecture and sculptured objects. Hence the monuments anterior to the Roman occupation should be ranged in two categories. In the first, as mustering stronger, should be placed Phœnician documents due to commerce, as they might be elsewhere, as well as those manufactured on the spot by the settlers. Drawings of many of these objects will be found in the two chapters containing a list of works which best illustrate the genius and activity of the Punic race. We have refrained, in that portion of our work, to describe in any way the industrial monuments of the native tribes, because they seem to deserve being ranked by themselves, as the products of national development, which, though restricted to a narrow sphere, is nevertheless all there is to show of their individual invention and ingenuity. In connection with the peculiarities observable in these monuments, it should be recollected that the Phœnicians were the only people with whom the islanders had amicable and continuous intercourse; the only one apparently from whom they could derive sufficient technical knowledge to enable them to model diversified figures, and raise architectonic monuments, many of which are still standing. In our estimation these works form a fitting sequel to the history of Phœnician art, but from the nature of the case the pages treating of them must of necessity come in as an appendix.

We are ignorant, and probably will never know to what stock belonged the tribes which the early Phœnician settlers found already in possession of the island when they arrived there; nor do we know what language they spoke. Some have imagined that they were Iberians from Spain and Gaul.[1] But the sugges-

[1] W. VON HUNBOLDT, *Prüfung der Untersuchungen uber die Urbewohner Hispaniens.* Berlin, 1821, 1845, p. 168; DIEFENBACH, *Celtica*, p. 18, and *Origines Europeæ*, p. 99; NIEBUHR, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 585; D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe.* Paris, 1877, p. 43, etc. Read also the valuable and

tions scattered in the pages of these writers appear to us poor and shadowy. We incline rather to those who point to Africa as the primitive home of the Sardinians, or at least as the starting-point whence they sallied forth to occupy the hilly range of the island.

The position of Sardinia and the direction of its relief seem to colour this supposition; for it lies nearer the coast of Africa than that of Sicily and the Italian peninsula, as may be distinctly seen when the main outlines of the island are alone visible from a short distance at sea. This proximity of the Afric continent had not escaped the observation of ancient writers[1]—the larger valleys of Corsica open to the east thus affording easy access to Italian immigrants desirous to penetrate inland. It is not so in Sardinia, where streams of any importance take a west and south-west direction, and where also rich, productive stretches are found, yielding readily ample means of subsistence to a new comer. Sardinia has its face turned to the Spanish and African main; it turns its back, so to speak, to Italy, and may be compared to a building having its front, doors, and windows to the west and south.[2] On the east coast rise lofty mountains, and masses of rugged rocks or cliffs divide narrow gorges or ravines, investing the landscape with a gloomy, weird aspect. Hence the spacious and secure havens which are found in swift succession on the south and west seaboard are unknown along this line, where from the mouth of the Sæpris (Flumendosa) to the extreme north point of the island Terranova, is the only harbour in which the mariner may take refuge. It stands on the site of Olbia, a Greek city, which was taken and, maybe, rebuilt by the Carthaginians. In the Roman epoch it was an important centre. Before the construction of roads through this rocky range, Olbia had no outlet, and afforded at best shelter to immigrants glad enough to run in their crafts in tempestuous weather. When they landed, however, they saw themselves completely encircled by steep declivities that required toil and much patient labour to make them produc-

critical observations by Pais upon the small reliance to be placed upon this hypothesis (*La Sardegna*, etc., pp. 16–22. Rome, 1881).

[1] "The journey from Sardinia to Africa is one day and one night; from Sardinia to Sicily, two days and one night" (SYCLAX, *Perip.*, p. 7). The distance between Cagliari and Cape Carthage is well within 200 kilometres, and the crossing may be effected in less than twelve hours.

[2] RECLUS, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, tom. i. p. 582. The same observation is found in PAUSANIUS (X. xvii. 6).

tive. This basin, silent and deserted for ages, has of late shown returning signs of life and activity.[1]

Therefore, in all probability, it was the nearer continent that sent forth the first bands of emigrants to Sardinia, or at least the larger and more compact groups; since towards Africa the island presented easy and inviting approaches. Nor is this mere conjecture; facts deserving serious consideration are in support of this view. The nomenclature of Sardinia and Africa has many points common to both.[2] Thus, to give one instance: The Iolaens, Iliens, or Ilienses, were the chief tribe of the island; and the same name (Iol) is met with in a town of Mauritia.[3] Again, Polybius speaks of Iolaos as an Afric deity whose name is supposed to have been deciphered on a Libyan inscription.[4] Other appellatives of localities might be added which would lead to similar comparisons and no less striking coincidences; we will limit ourselves, however, to noting that the close resemblance that existed between the Sardi and the African races, was recorded by Pausanias in the following words: "The outward appearance, weapons, and usages of the Ilienses, are stated to be the same as those of the Libyans;"[5] whilst a little further he writes, that "the latter were among the first who passed over to Sardinia."[6]

It may be objected that in Pausanias's description, many names and details relative to Sardinia are purely mythical; granting that it is so, there is still a certain proportion that bear undeniable indications of being historical, carefully preserved and handed down by successive generations as the only link that bound the

[1] The Romans called the block of mountains to the north, "*insani montes*" (LIVY, xxx. 39; FLORUS, ii. 6). This appellation was probably due to the fitful action of the winds, which blow with great violence on these heights, penetrating narrow gorges, and breaking out with fresh virulence upon the inland seas; or it may indicate the terror felt by the beholder of these lofty peaks and awe-inspiring landscape.

[2] See PAIS, *Sardinia*, p. 16; notes chap. v.; p. 80, notes 1 and 3; p. 82, notes 1 and 6; p. 83, note 1, etc.

[3] STRABO, XVII. iii. 12.

[4] POLYBIUS, VII. ix. 2. The name of Iolaos figures as a Carthaginian deity in the text of a treaty between Philip and Hannibal. The burden of proof lies in demonstrating that Iolaos was an African rather than a strictly Phœnician god.

[5] PAUSANIAS, X. xvii. 4. His circumstantial details upon Sardinia are so accurate as to raise the presumption that he had visited it.

[6] *Ibid.* 2, 5. *Libyan* does not stand for *Carthaginian*, since lower down he distinctly says that during the height of their power the Carthaginians held the whole of Sardinia, save those parts occupied by the Ilienses and Corsi.

present with a dim past; and as such, of the utmost importance in the inquiry under notice. According to the same writer Iberians had likewise migrated to Sardinia.[1] Against this unsupported statement no great objection can be raised. It is not at all unlikely that in prehistoric ages bands of emigrant-settlers poured in upon the island from the north, south, and west. Savants are now inclined to believe that from the south, *i.e.* the African coast, came the Iberians who entered Europe by the Gibraltar Strait at a very remote period;[2] whence they gradually spread in South Gaul, Italy, and Sicily. If this supposition were realized, the Libyans and Sardi who met in Sardinia were closely related.

We will now turn our attention to another people which has of late engaged the attention of the learned world, in connection with the early inhabitants of Sardinia, and supposed by some to have been the ancestors of the Sardi.



FIG. 4.—Shardana of the Royal Guard. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie*, Plate XVIII. Ipsamboul.

The Shardana, Shairotana, Shardans or Shardanes, for they are variously written, joined the people, described in hieroglyphs as having come "by sea," in their invasion of the delta during the nineteenth dynasty; but having been vanquished by Ramses II. and Menephtah, those that remained were incorporated by these monarchs in the Egyptian army, or formed into a body-guard, (Fig. 4).[3] The speos of Ipsamboul, and the pylons of Medinet-Abou, are decorated with bas-reliefs representing Shardana warriors with two-horned helmets, one on either side, topped by a

[1] PAUSANIAS, X. xvii. 4.

[2] Among the scholars who favour this hypothesis may be mentioned NIEBUHR, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 585; MAURY, *La Terra et l'Homme*, 4th edit., p. 579; D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Les Anciens Habitants de l'Europe*, p. 273; RENAN, *Hist. Gen. des Langues Sémitiques*, 4th edit., p. 202, etc.

[3] DE ROUGÉ was the first to draw attention on the importance of this movement, which threatened for a time the safety of Egypt (*Extraits d'un mémoire sur les attaques dirigées contre l'Egypte par les peuples de la Méditerranée vers le quatorzième siècle avant notre ère* dans la *Revue Archéologique*, 1867, t. xvi.). See also CHABAS, *Etudes sur l'antiquité historique d'après les sources Egyptiennes*, in-8, 1873.

large ball. Speculation has been rife in respect to this device, which has been too hastily thought to be identical with the helmets of Sardinian bronzes furnished with similar appendages (Fig. 5). Arguing from this apparent similarity of names and dress, the conclusion, it was confidently asserted, was irresistible that objects of Egyptian form and workmanship found in Sardinian tombs, had all been brought there by the Shardana on their return home after their long and bloody struggles in Lower Egypt.[1] Hence the enamelled pottery, amulets, and small Egyptian idols which had caused much astonishment at being met with so far removed from the banks of the Nile, were triumphantly held up as part of the spoil which the vanquished invaders had brought from their expedition.



FIG. 5.—Statuette recovered at Patria, Cagliari Museum. Height, 15 c. From Wallet.

This theory could not stand the test of criticism; and in the present day archæologists perfectly agree in ascribing a Phœnician origin to the bulk of small monuments bearing Egyptian characteristics, brought to light in the necropoles of Sardinia; whilst in the estimation of Egyptologists, those of superior make and undoubted Egyptian creation, are not earlier than the twenty-sixth dynasty. Consequently the importation of these objects to the west, including Sardinia, cannot have been the result of the strife that occurred under the Theban princes five or six hundred years before.

When monuments of like nature were unearthed in Palestine, at Tarquinia in Etruria, and Cære in Latium, it was urged that traders from Tyre or Carthage had imported these curios and scattered them wherever they went, along with their own products. If this explanation is allowed for Italy, why should it be inadequate when applied to Sardinia? In our opinion, the reasons put forth to identify the Shardana and the Sardi as one and the same people deserve no better consideration. The helmets seen on Sardinian figures have been placed on the same lines as those of the Shardana; but closer inspection will show that divergence

[1] CHABAS, *Recherches*, pp. 300 and following. LIEBLEIN, *Notes on Egyptian Monuments found in Sardinia.* Christiana, 1879. Spano adopted the same view some years before he died (PAIS, *Le Popolazioni Egizie*, p. 7).

rather than similarity distinguishes them. What characterizes the Shardana helmet is the ball on its apex (Fig. 6); but no Sardinian statuette exhibits anything of the kind. A great deal has been made of the horns with which both helmets are furnished, but these, when taken separately, have in common nothing but the name. They are almost horizontal on the Shardana helmet, forming a crescent, of which the concavity rests upon the bell of the headpiece; whereas the Sardinian helmet has two high points, which first slightly project forward, and rising approach each

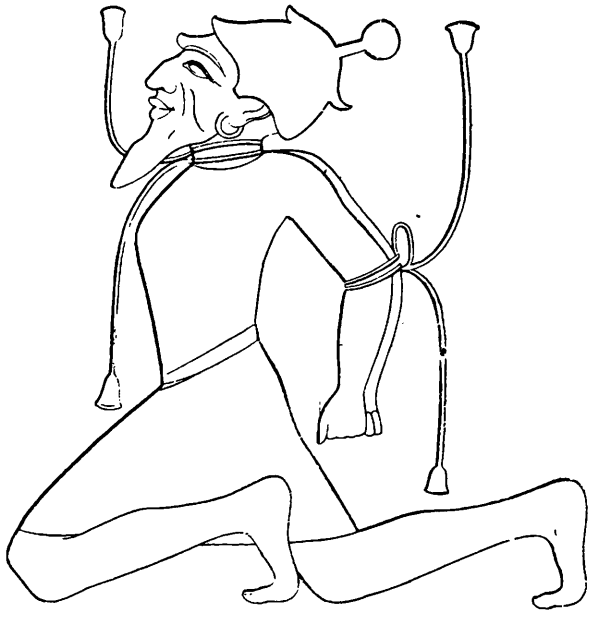


FIG. 6.—Shardana Warrior. Champollion, *Monuments*, Plate CCIII. Medinet-Abou.

other towards the extremity. There is, it is true, some analogy between the two sets of helmets; but that of itself is of small account, and does not compensate for entire difference of form; whilst the widely diffused custom of applying horns to helmets among people of antiquity is too well known to need further mention at our hands;[1] nor will it justify singling out two people with whom it was the usual headdress, to deduce therefrom that

[1] Relative to this subject, see PAIS, *La Sardegna*, p. 14, note 2. In it the author, without claiming to have exhausted the subject, points out that Thracians, Gauls, Macedonians, various Libyan tribes, and Scandinavians had horned helmets, and that on a Mycenæan clay fragment a similar headpiece is figured.

any relationship existed between them. The horn has always been associated with animals in whom strength, virility, and bellicose propensities are supposed to reside—such as the stag, ram, bull, etc.—hence it was natural for warriors to adopt it as the emblem of qualities they were conspicuous for, or which they wished to be thought as possessing.

The argument relative to similarity of names has better claims to our consideration. The name Shardana, Sardinian, Sardes, and Sardinia, being so like each other as to be almost identical. True, the first consonant in Shardana is soft, and sibilant in Sardinia; but this point is not so important as at first appears. The Sin and Shin of the Phœnician alphabet, like the Hebrew, are represented by the same sign (ש), the sound of which differed among people of the same nationality, and from one tribe to another; and the word "Shibboleth," or "Sibboleth," as the Ephraïmites pronounced it, will occur to our readers as a case in point.[1]

If Shardana and Sardanes be one and the same name the inference would be great, almost amounting to certainty that the hardy mountaineers of Sardinia were a remnant of the mighty host which twice invaded Egypt and threatened her frontiers; but which, repulsed and driven to the sea, sought to retrieve in the west the fortune that was denied them in the east. But even granting this, it forms but one link in the chain of evidence which it is wished to establish. Who can tell if this resemblance is not the result of mere chance? (!) A glance at any atlas will furnish many such coincidences. In the present state of our knowledge, the analogy between the Shardana or Shardanes, of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and the Sardonians, Sardanians, or Sardes, of the Græco-Roman writers, can only have, and probably will always retain, a conjectural character; although agreeing with the little we know of the remote period preceding the visits of the Phœnicians to the islands of the west—supposed to have taken place between the fourteenth and fifteenth century B.C. Somewhere about this time, there seems to have been an abnormal agitation and displacement of peoples in the countries bordering on the Ægean Sea. The primary cause of this disturbance is imperfectly known, and may have been due to the inroads of the Phrygians who, having crossed the European straits, entered the Asiatic continent.

[1] *Judges* xii. 4, 6.

Hardly pressed for elbow room, or owing to some other cause, the more important tribes of the peninsula started, for the most part, on their southward expedition, drawn thither by rumours of the treasures of Egypt. Here they were assisted by a Libyan tribe, the Libou, on the watch for a good opportunity to fall on their opulent neighbours. These incursions, as we said, occurred under Ramses II., Menephtah, and Ramses III., who eventually triumphed over these hordes; when after their defeat those that were not incorporated in the Egyptian army, were set to defend Egypt against the unruly Libyans to the west, whilst in Syria the Philistines were to guard the Nile valley to the east. The fact that these invaders are heard of under three successive Pharaohs, shows that they obeyed some kind of discipline, and seem to have banded together by common consent, and to have surrendered the leadership to native Libyans, familiar with the customs of the country, and acquainted with the best approaches by which the delta might be invaded. Thus we read of a Libyan, Mermaïou, son of Deïd, as the sole leader of these tribes; whilst another Libyan, Deïd, doubtless son of Mermaïou, headed them under Ramses II. After their final defeat the broken bands were scattered in every direction; some, owing to their numbers or some other cause, were suffered to abandon the country; such were the Iliouna, the Dardani (Dardanians), the Pidasa (Pedasians), the Iliouna (Trojans), the Masou (Mysians), and the Louca (Lycaonians and Lycians); for we find them mentioned later in history as inhabiting Asia Minor; whilst the Aqaiousha settled in the Helenic peninsula and in the islands of the archipelago, notably Cyprus and Crete. A certain number of the Toursha (Tyrennians) seem to have left Greece in their rear on their onward progress, entering Italy to the north, and occupying the head of the Adriatic Gulf and the surrounding country.[1]

[1] MASPERO, *Hist. Ancienne des Peuples d'Orient*, 2nd edit., pp. 249, 250, 266, 479. We have here followed M. Maspero's view, who for years has been engaged upon this question, and who in a letter to us was good enough to review the whole situation, stating that he saw no reason to alter the opinion which he published some years ago. Others, as DUNCKER (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, vol. i. pp. 151 and following), UNGER (*Chronologie des Manetho*, p. 218), cited by MASPERO, in the *Revue Critique*, new series, vol. v. p. 320, and J. HALÉVY, p. 20, note 1, think that the various tribes mentioned in the inscriptions as banded together against Egypt were African; an hypothesis difficult to be maintained before names, of which a large proportion so manifestly belong to the ethnical nomenclature of Asia Minor.

Other groups are said to have taken the same direction, albeit by a different route, coasting the north of Africa, where they lingered for a time not specially mentioned; such were the Shaloska—the ancestors, it may be, of the Siculi—and the Shardana, who had not been absorbed in the Egyptian army. It is probable that, like most of "the tribes that had come by sea," they were from Asia Minor, where their names are supposed to survive in Sagalossos and Sardes. A small remnant took refuge on the Marmaric seaboard, whilst the more numerous were able to keep together, travelling by slow stages, settling in the pleasant districts known to-day as the regency of Tripolis and Tunis. Their journey may have occupied a hundred or two hundred years. Traces of the characteristics which distinguished their various nationalities are still observable in the populations in whose midst they dwelt for a time and in the divisions where they finally settled. This view, if accepted, would explain the tradition which we read in Sallust, that north Africa had been peopled by immigrants from Media, Persia, and Armenia,[1] a theory that has been considerably strengthened of late by the fact that a large proportion of names proper to Libya are likewise seen in the hieroglyphics containing the list of the nations who invaded the delta under Ramses II. and his two successors. The slight variations in the spelling of words found in Egyptian and Libyan inscriptions, or in Greek geographers, are easily explained by differences in the various alphabets involving different methods of transcription.[2] This would also coincide with the tradition noted above, that the Shaloska and Shardana, after long wanderings on the Libyan seaboard, halted at the place between Carthage and Utica which juts out towards Sicily and Sardinia. Here, owing to lack of space, they separated, some crossing over to Sicily, whilst the rest made for Sardinia. The existence of these outlying islands was doubtless known to fishermen who, driven by violent gales blowing from the south, had sought shelter under some of their headlands. On their return home they had told of the wonders of the land they had visited and of the ease of settling there, owing to the

[1] SALLUST, *Jugurtha*, xviii.

[2] M. HALÉVY, in his *Etudes Berbères* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1874, tom. ix. pp. 406–411), lays great stress on the similitudes of names where, among other examples, he has the word "Sard" a masculine proper name, making "Sardan" in the plural (p. 410).

small number of its inhabitants. Fired by these glowing descriptions, they had placed their families and few valuables in large open boats, such as we see on the Menephtah inscription at Karnak, where they boldly venture into the Nile and the surrounding canals[1] during the time of the year when light steady winds prevail. The coasts of Sardinia being nearer, were the first to be inhabited. Hence the mysterious hero Sardos, stated to have been a son of Hercules, represented on Sardinian coins with the legend "Sardus Pater" (Fig. 7),[2] may have been due to the lingering remembrance of the Libyan Shardana. But even admitting that they gave the name to the island, they were not left long in sole and undisputed possession; other Libyan tribes, attracted by the facility of the voyage, soon followed in their wake. According to Pausanius, Iberians, Bœotians, and Athenians should be numbered among early immigrants to Sardinia.

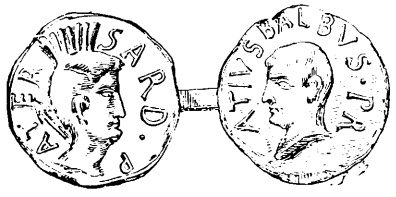


FIG. 7.—Sardus Pater, coin of the Atia family.

However this may be, the fact remains that Sardinia, in remote ages, was inhabited by a number of different tribes; this, without looking further, suffices to account for the Shardana having discarded some of their national customs and modified their dress for reasons of convenience and expediency, so as to fit and harmonize them with their new surroundings. How great was the fusion of the various elements that were brought for the first time in juxtaposition on a narrow space is not known, but that it was considerable may be inferred from historians having made no allusion to difference of language or manners in the tribes which they include under the generic name of Sardi, Sardes, and which we call Sardinians. The names of the chief tribes have come down to us: thus the Ilienses, as we said, occupied the narrow valleys and the tableland stretching between the east coast and the Tharsos, which forms the division now called Barbagia, whilst the Balari, a name recalling Baleari, held the region somewhat more to the north;

[1] In the great Karnak inscription relating the invasion of the Barbarians under Menephtah and the manner of their expulsion we read these words: "They sacked maritime cities, spreading over the country, which they entered through the river" (LENORMANT, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples d'Orient*, 9th edit., tom. ii. p. 280).

[2] PAUSANIAS, X. xvii. 2.

and, finally, the Corsicans, or Corsi, inhabited the extreme north section of the island.

We will now pass in review the monuments known as núraghs, dwelling upon their arrangement and mode of construction, and, assisted by numerous documents, it will be easy to give a summary of them, the difficulty will be in endeavouring to determine their real nature and the end for which they were erected.[1]

§ 4.—*Núraghs.*

The buildings that we are about to describe are proper to Sardinia; nowhere else are they found precisely similar, or with details of so typical a character that delineation of them is rendered

[1] Before we proceed further, we wish to record through what instrumentality we have been enabled to bring to this portion of our work a thoroughness that could never have been attained otherwise, because opportunities for visiting the part of Sardinia in which these monuments are found were denied us.

In the foremost ranks of those who volunteered to be our fellow-workers must be placed M. Léon Gouin, a mining engineer who has been settled in Sardinia for the last twenty years, and who has taken the keenest interest in its antiquities, having brought together a number of curios that can hold their own against the Cagliari and Sassari museums. M. Gouin, with a readiness to be of service which we cannot sufficiently praise, not only placed himself at our disposal, but also pressed into the work his friend M. Alphonse Baux, as warm a student of Sardinian antiquities as he himself, and supplied us with drawings of all the objects in his collection. He took, moreover, the measurement and a carefully drawn plan of two núraghs, which served us as types for that class of monuments. This is not all. In his letters, and during two flying visits which he paid to the French capital, both in his conversation and in answering the questions which we rained upon him, no less than in treating us to his unbiassed opinion upon the questions at issue in regard with these strange monuments at present so imperfectly known, he has laid us under extreme obligations.

We are glad also of this opportunity for acknowledging our thanks to M. Vivanet, chief inspector of the Sardinian exploration, and M. Pais, keeper of the Cagliari museum. To M. Vivanet we are indebted for photographs of the most important bronzes in the Cagliari museum. It is owing to these that we are able to reproduce the small figures scattered in these pages in a manner unsurpassed by any that have gone before.

Of M. Pais it will be enough to say that he is widely known as an eminent scholar and critic, and that he has been our chief guide in this study, not only in his published works, but also in the valuable volumes which he placed at our disposition, and which it would have been vain to try and find elsewhere; and last, not least, in dispelling our doubts on certain points about which we were uncertain.

It is through him likewise that we are indebted to Messrs. Crespi and Nissardi for the benefit of their experience in this field of inquiry, including a number of capital drawings.

comparatively easy. It was natural that, in describing these monuments, the name by which they are known in the country and which has passed into the current language of archæology, should have been preserved, with no more change than that involved by transcription from one language to another.[1] The word "núragh," found in the Sardinian dialect, was supposed by some to be of Phœnician origin, from the Arabic *nur*, "light," "resplendency," and the Hebrew root *jag*, "roof," "covering," "house,"



FIG. 8.—The Zuri Núragh, near Abbasanta. From Baux.

corrupted into "hag;" an impossible theory, for the initial *g* would have become *ch* aspirate.[2] Upon this slender thread, however, was hung the theory that núraghs were lighthouses, or signal towers. We do not deny that they were sometimes so used; all we contend is that they were not solely built for that purpose, as examination of their arrangement will abundantly show. The derivation given above may be no more than a fortuitous coin-

[1] Upon the modifications of this word in the various districts and by native writers, consult LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. p. 36. He spells it nūrhag, so as to fit it in with the Phœnician theory, now abandoned.

[2] *Nour*, or *nur*, *lucere*, *splendere*, whence *nér*, *lucerna*. GESENIUS.

cidence, which, resting on no scientific basis, has but little value, for no importance can be attached to a particular word, even though some parts of it may seem to belong to a known language.

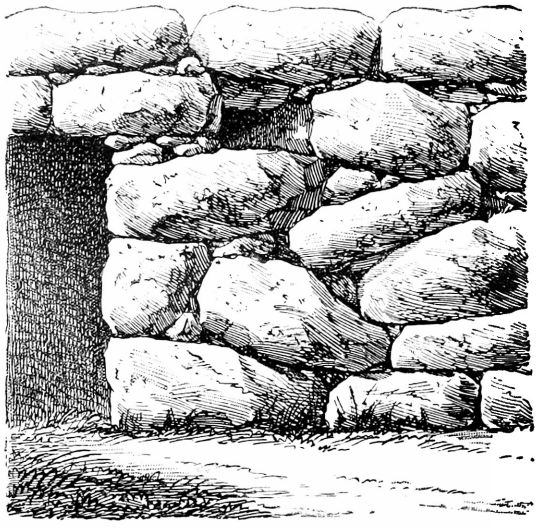


FIG. 9.—Doorway and wall recess of the Zuri Núragh. From Baux.

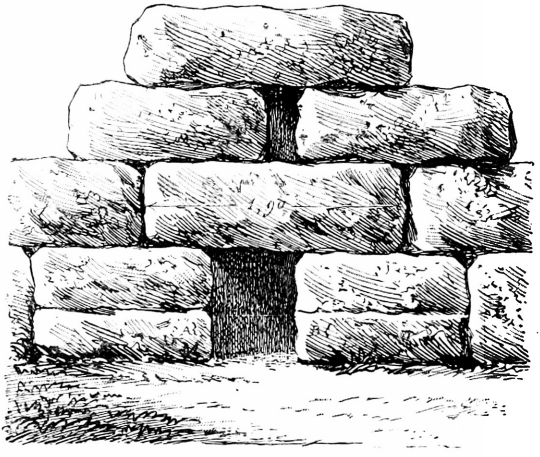


FIG. 10.—Exterior view of doorway of the Zuri Núragh. From Baux.

The form of a núragh is that of a truncated cone, built with stone blocks of different size, sometimes very large, narrowing towards the top. It probably terminated in a terrace (Fig. 8).[1] Some parts of the edifice are built with cut stones; but they are unhewn, as a rule, and laid on without mortar, the intervening cavities being filled up with earth, apparently thrown in with the hand (Fig. 9). The only doorway is on the ground floor, but so low that a man must creep in as best he may to reach a corridor seven or eight feet high (Figs. 10 and 11),[2] as low as the entrance in some places.

This occurs where

[1] We say "probably," because the summits are all more or less damaged, not one being perfect. But had these monuments terminated in a circular roof or some kind of vault, the spring of the arch would have been visible in the less ruinous, whilst the flight of steps above the chambers would have been without outlet or purpose (LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, p. 39).

[2] The doorways of some núraghs admit of a man passing through with head erect (LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, p. 40).

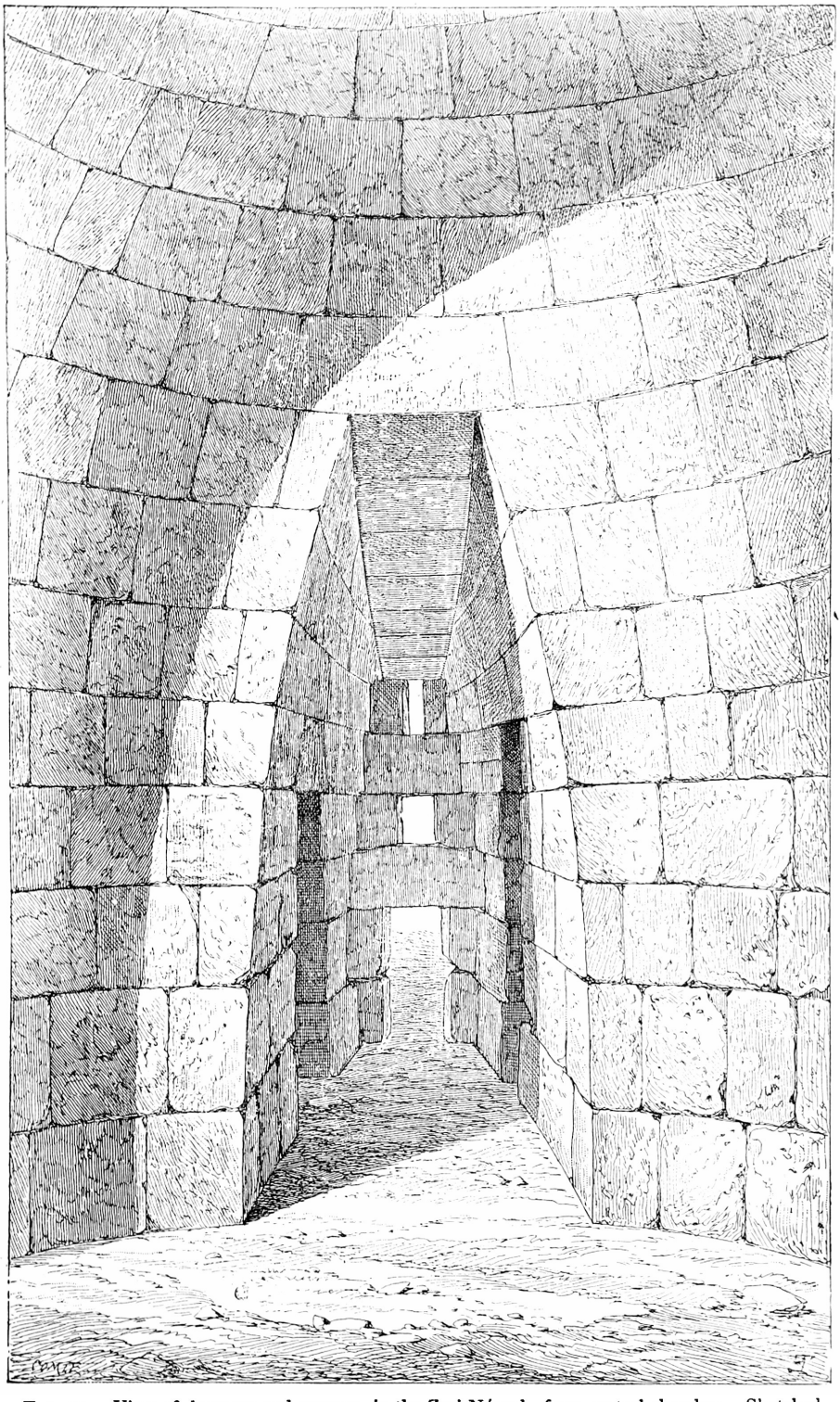


FIG. 11.—View of doorway and passage, in the Zuri Núragh, from central chamber. Sketched by Gouin.

some kind of division or door formerly stood, shown by existing archways which communicated with a circular hall or chamber six or seven metres high (Fig. 12). The stonework is corbelled, forming an oblong dome measuring four or five metres at the spring of the arch. This mode of construction is observable in the passage and the side chambers, shortly to be described, where the stones slightly overlap each other so as to

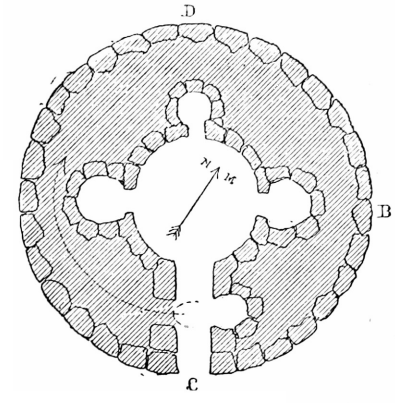


FIG. 12.—Plan of the Zuri Núragh. From Gouin.

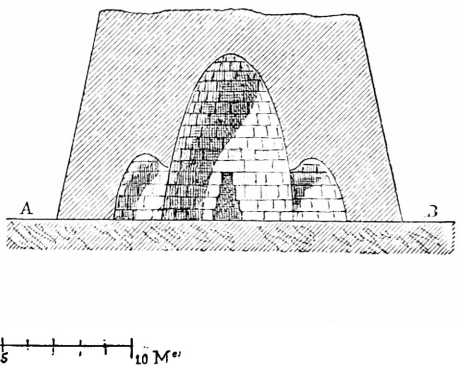


FIG. 13.—Transverse section, showing back of the Zuri Núragh. From Gouin.

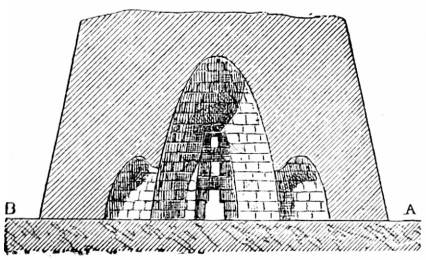


FIG. 14.—Transverse section, showing front of the same. From Gouin.

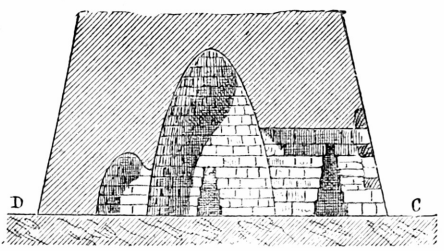
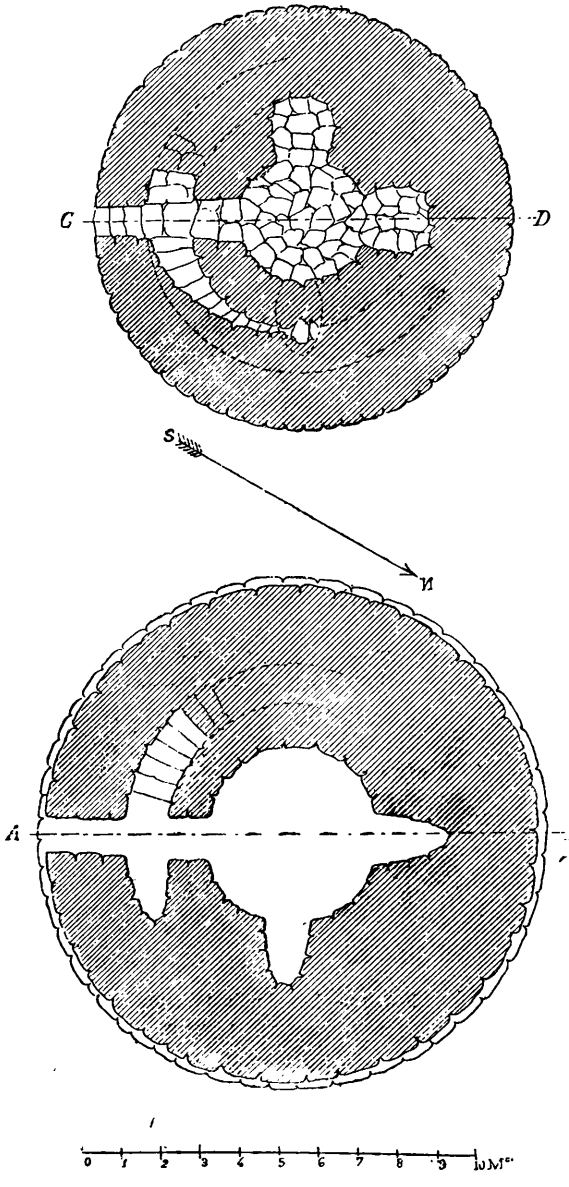


FIG. 15.—Longitudinal section of the same. From Gouin.

form an incline. A certain amount of care was bestowed on the facing, of which the stones are well cut and do not show the joints, enabling the eye to travel from the base of the wall to the extremity of the slope in a continuous line to the top, which is sufficiently narrow to allow of a single stone, sometimes of considerable thickness, to fill up the gap.[1] Our engravings will enable the reader to form a clear idea of the interior arrangement. In the first trans-

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, p. 40.

verse cut the spectator is supposed to face the end chamber (Fig. 13); he is turned towards the door in Fig. 14, whilst the longitudinal cut (Fig. 15) shows the recess to the right of the doorway facing the stairs. Núraghs may have an upper, sometimes two upper storeys; when this is the case, a corresponding second and third chamber, necessarily smaller than that on the ground floor, are found above it. A similar distribution is well seen in our engravings of the "Nieddu" Núragh near Ploaghe; Fig. 16 represents the lower storey, Fig. 17 the upper, Fig. 18 the elevation, and Fig. 19 the longitudinal section. The upper storey is reached by narrow stairs, which start either from the anteroom or entrance passage (Fig. 12), or from the central hall or chamber, winding round the body of the structure. The stairway is sometimes replaced by a steep incline. Quadrangular recesses, which may have served as repositories for weapons, provisions, etc., and as lamp-stands, are also found in the inner wall of the chambers (Fig. 9). Owing to the thickness of the walls no



FIGS. 16 and 17.—Plan of ground floor (A B) and first storey (C D) of the Nieddu Núragh. From Nissardi.

windows are seen on the ground floor; but towards the top, where

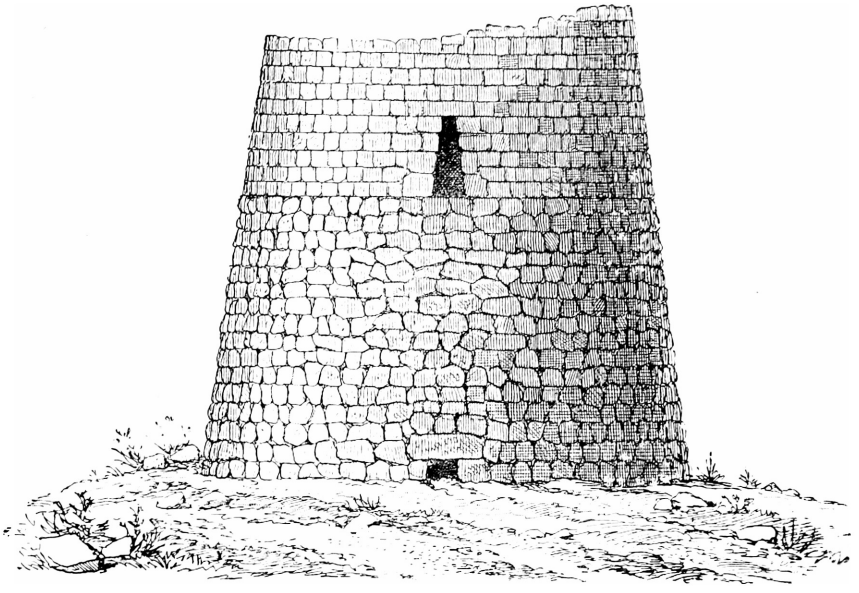


FIG. 18.—The Nieddu Núragh. Plan. From Nissardi.

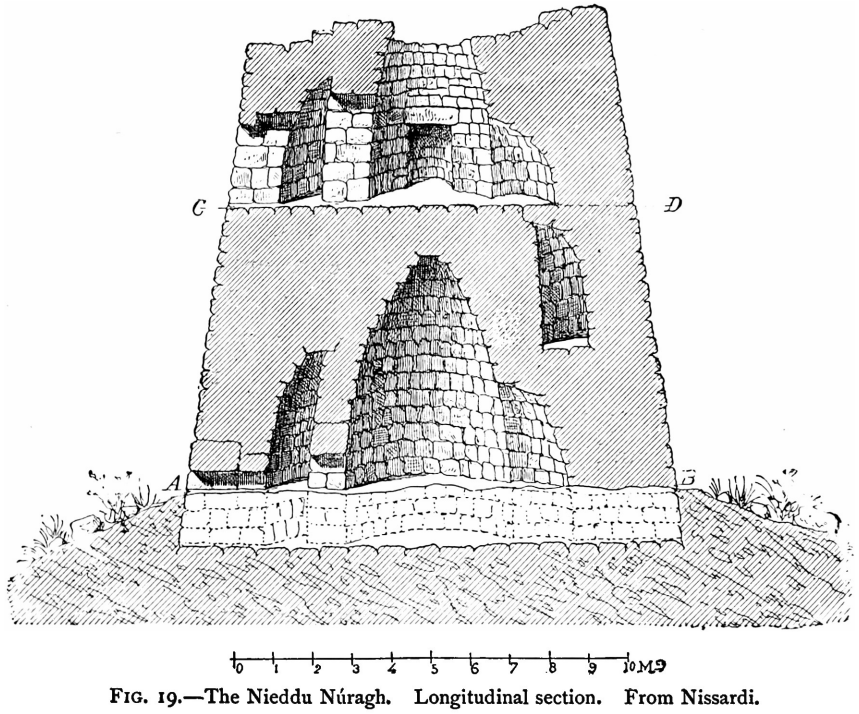


FIG. 19.—The Nieddu Núragh. Longitudinal section. From Nissardi.

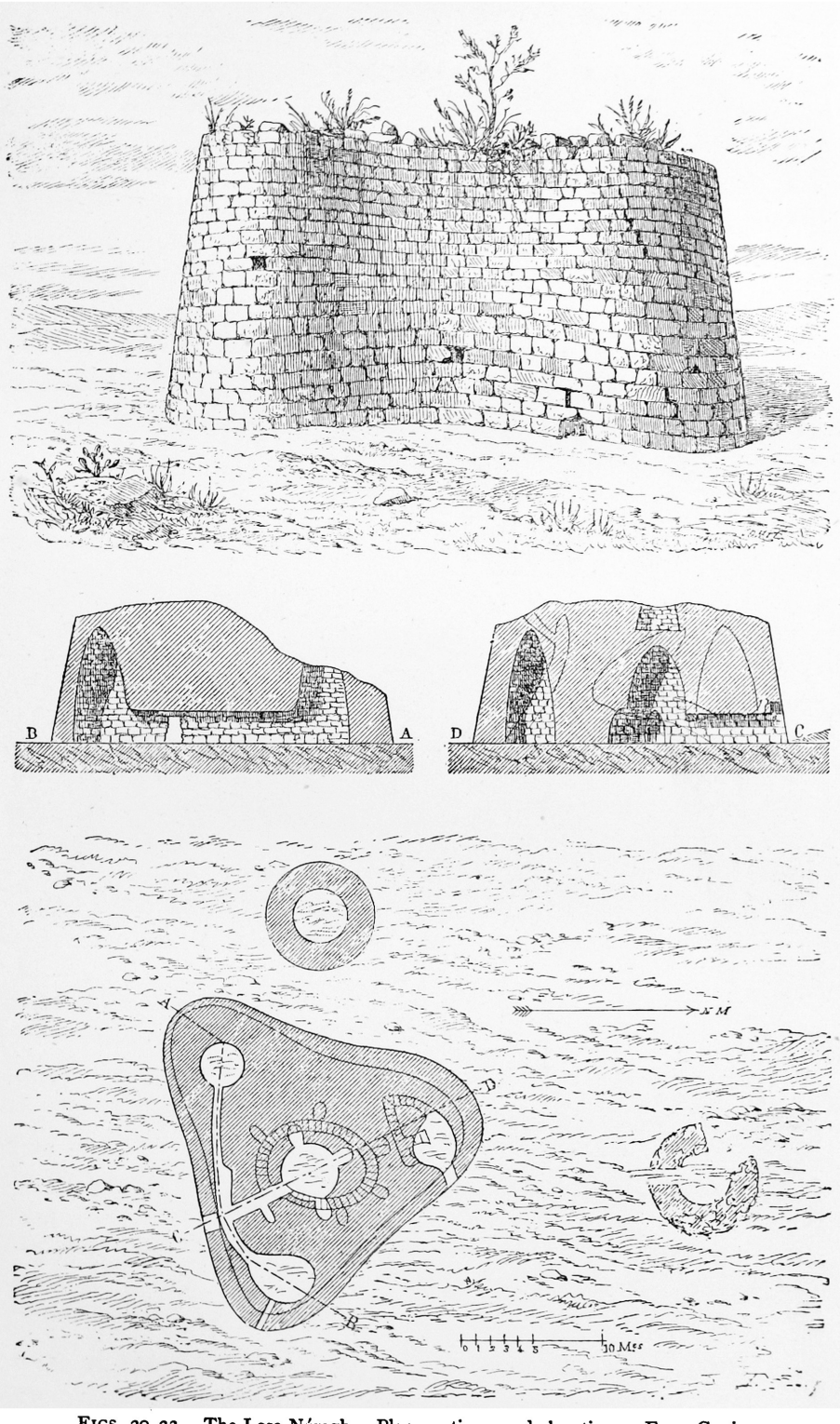
they are necessarily thinner, tiny loopholes were practised, letting

in a feeble streak of light on the gloomy staircase and anteroom situated between the stair and the recess at the entrance (Fig. 8). The average height of the best preserved núraghs varies from nine to fifteen metres; two are known of twenty metres high; and before their present ruinous state scores more must have measured that and even greater height. To judge by those that have least suffered from the action of time, these monuments were all furnished with a staircase leading to a circular terrace on the top, and nearly all the doors pointed south-east.

For centuries the peasantry have used núraghs as common property, in building their houses and the walls surrounding their land. Despite this vandalism in the past, and, I am sorry to write, in the present, fragments of núraghs still exist, estimated by La Marmora at three thousand; a figure, it is said, which falls much short of reality.[1] Close study of the principal monuments, which are not mere heaps of ruins, discloses the fact that considerable diversity was obtained, not in the general outline of the building, which never varies, but in the proportions and details of the plan; no two núraghs being exactly alike. Single núraghs, such as Figs. 8 and 18, form the majority; but "agglomerated monuments," *i.e.* composed of a massive central block towering far above three or four smaller, which serve as counter-forts, muster stronger than at first appears. That the relief of these structures is less than that of the main tower may be accounted for by the stones of which they were built, yielding uncertainty of outline, still further increased by being hidden under brushwood and accumulated *débris*. Our Figs. 20–23 represents the Losa Núragh, a good type of the simpler "agglomerated." It consists of a three-storied central tower, having other three symmetrically arranged, connected with the main body so as to form one block or pile of building triangular in shape, of which the sides are slightly concave and the angles rounded off.[2]

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt II. p. 46; PAIS, *La Sardegna*, p. 25, note 3.

[2] LA MARMORA examined and gave a drawing of the Losa Núragh, situated at Abbasanta, in the district of Paoli-Latino (*Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. p. 68–72, *Atlas*, Plate IX. 1 and 1A). Our plan is after M. GOUIN'S more recent drawing. We regret that our space forbids making use of many more which he kindly forwarded to us. By comparing his with La Marmora's the enormous decay which has occurred within the last fifty years will be observed. When the latter visited it in 1840, the upper chamber was still intact, and the projection of the central cone distinctly visible.



FIGS. 20–23.—The Losa Núragh. Plan, sections, and elevations. From Gouin.

In the present day, the projection of the principal tower is not greater than that of the three sides of the block (Fig. 21); but the fact that the chambers to the right and left are loftier than the central hall, shows that it was not so formerly (Cut C, D, Fig. 22). That this room is more important is indicated by its larger dimensions, the three cells on either side, and its position in respect to the passage (Fig. 23, A B); its being lower than the side chambers is accounted for by a second placed over it, of which the lower portion is still extant, whilst the three surrounding towers had but one storey. In other agglomerated monuments the proportions, and particularly the relief of the central cone, far exceed

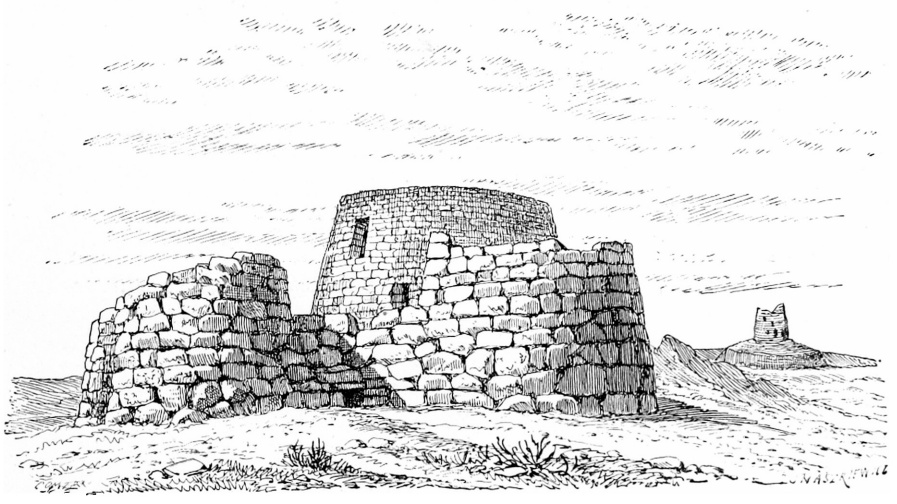


FIG. 24.—The Oes Núragh. La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate XI.

those of the outer towers; exemplified in the núragh "Oes," of which a drawing in perspective is given (Fig. 24).[1] Examples of núraghs with towers placed at some little distance from and unconnected with each other, but which may have been distributed along an outer wall crowning a hill-top or mound, also occur, albeit less frequently. Such is the Sarecci, in the district of Gaspini, about 200 metres in circumference, of which we give a plan (Fig. 25), and a perspective view (Fig. 26).[2] The most complex, however, is the Ortu, near Domus-Novas, in the division of Iglesias, with base still perfect, as seen in La Marmora's plan

[1] The St. Antine Núragh from its triangular shape bears much affinity to the Losa.

[2] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. p. 57–60, Plate VI.

(Fig. 27). His restoration of the upper storeys, now destroyed, was much criticised by the native architect, Cima,[1] from whose

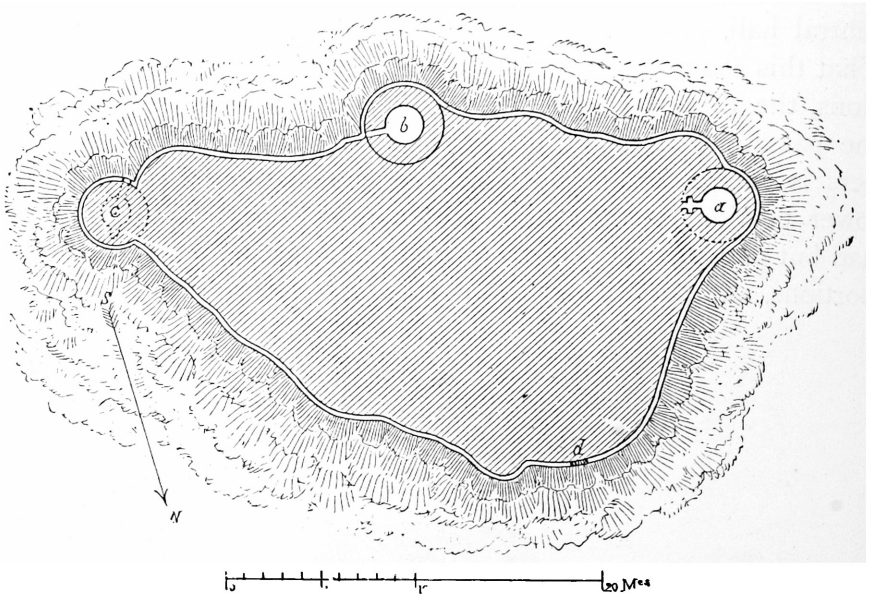


FIG. 25.—The Sarecci Núragh. Plan. La Marmora, *Atlas*, Plate VI.

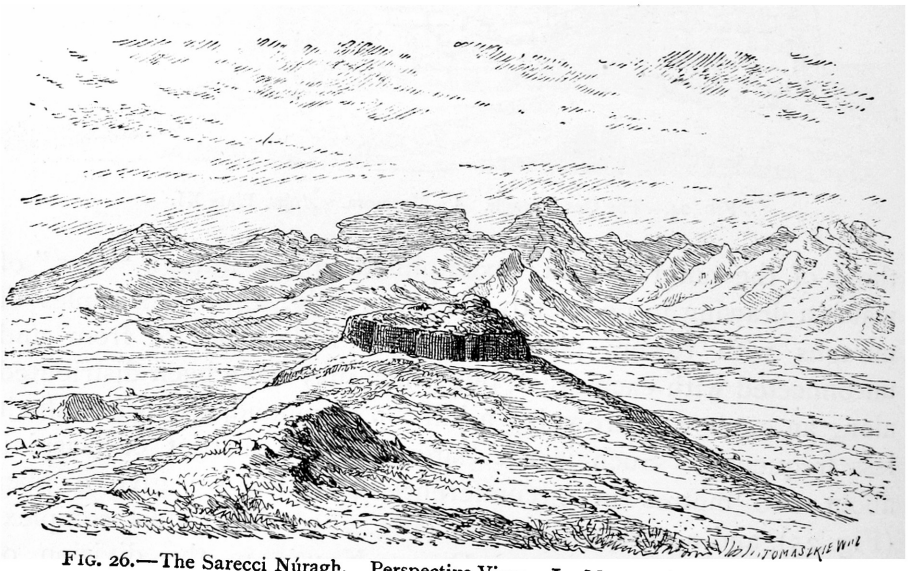


FIG. 26.—The Sarecci Núragh. Perspective View. La Marmora's *Atlas*, Plate VI.

observations and drawing appended to his paper we have tried to

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. p. 91–95, and *Atlas*, Plate XIV., figs. 1 and 1A.

restore this king of núraghs. It will be noticed that the central tower has a chamber on both storeys above ground, corresponding with the larger one on the ground-floor, still extant, conformably with the inner arrangement of important monuments of this class (Fig. 28). The lower storey of this building consisted formerly of ten chambers (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, *l*), not counting the small

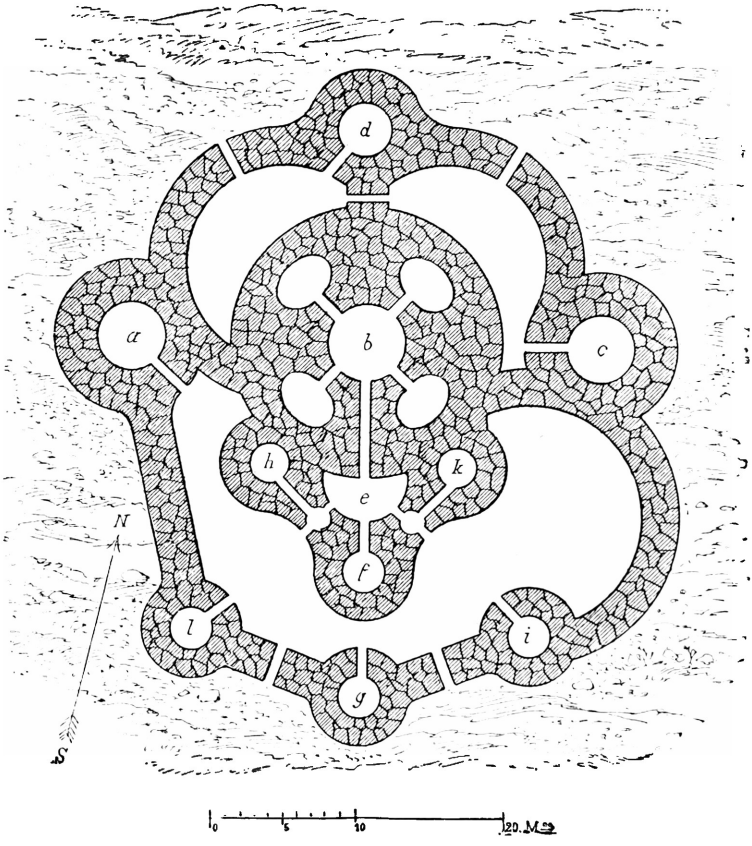


FIG. 27.—The Ortu Núragh. Plan. La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate XIV.

cells of the central hall (*b*); four inner courts, one of which very small (*c*), were connected with each other by eleven apertures, whilst four doorways led outside. The circumference was about 148 metres.

Thus it is seen that the narrow space between the central block and the outer wall, with towers at stated distances surrounding the larger núraghs, was occupied by real courts.[1] Close to scores

[1] The same disposition occurs in the *Oes* Núragh (LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, p. 79, plan du rez-de-chaussée). See also the *Majori* Núragh, p. 96, Plate XIV. fig. 2.

of núraghs are found unmistakable remains of walls, for the most part loosely put together and hidden by detritus and under growth, supposed to have surrounded vast enclosures having núraghs as centres.[1] Moreover, in the immediate vicinity of important towers, as the Teti and Losa, for example (Fig. 20), minor buildings, described in the plans and letterpress as smaller núraghs, are met with, in general arrangement not differing from the more important

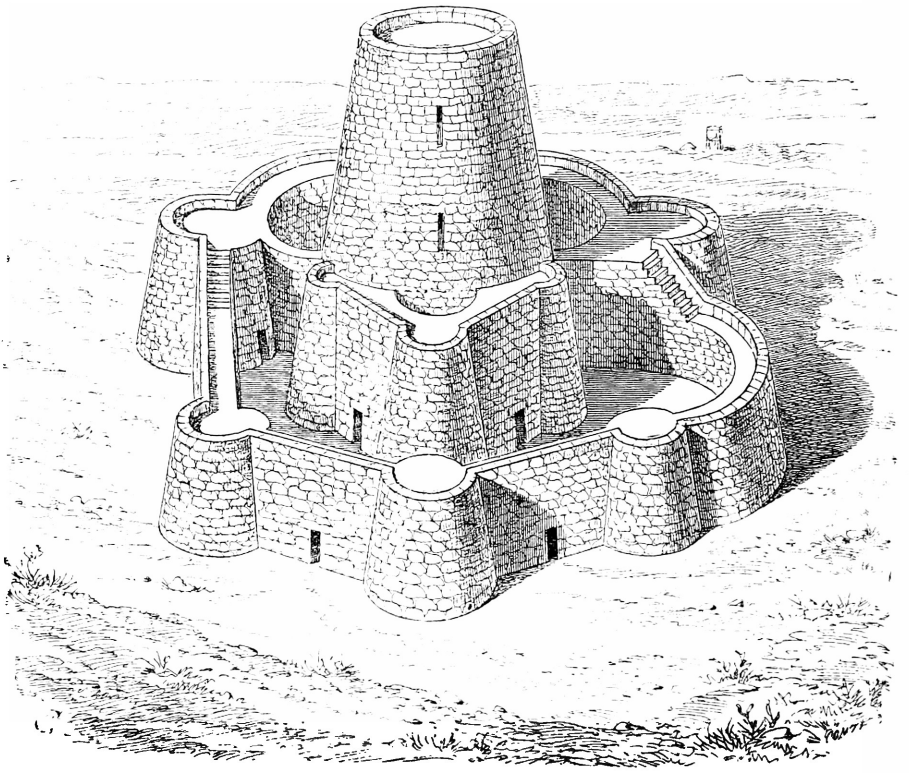


FIG. 28.—The Ortu Núragh, restored by Ch. Chipiez.

structures, save that they were not vaulted, that the roof was either pointed and made with branches of trees, or that it was a ceiling supported by beams, over which were spread layers of beaten earth ;[2] the walls perpendicular, and built with stones of ordinary size.[3] These dwellings, known in the country under the

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, pp. 52, 71, 82, 84, Plate VIII., fig. 2A.

[2] This mode of roofing is still practised in the uplands of the Italian peninsula, as well as in some of the Greek islands.—TRANSLATOR.

[3] These observations belong to M. Gouin, who compares such buildings with the *ovili*, "sheds" used by native woodmen.

dignified name of "domus," afforded but the scantiest accommodation, and were of as poor a description as can well be imagined. But if the general outline of núraghs is appreciably the same everywhere, this does not apply as regards their position; for they may be observed on a mountain ridge, a hill top, or rearing their truncated heads amidst the solitary grandeur of a vast expanse. But no matter where found, they were always built on rising ground or mound, either natural or artificially made. A single núragh is an exceedingly rare occurrence; as a rule, and on examining the overgrowth immediately surrounding the tower above ground, others of similar nature are discovered. Núraghs may be said to stand in groups of twenty and thirty, some attaining the number of a hundred,[1] distributed on so narrow a space that scores may be seen from any one of them. On viewing these monuments, scholars and travellers alike have asked themselves the question as to the purpose for which they were erected; but up to the present time no solution has been put forward answering all doubts, and perhaps never will. Not because theories have been wanting; in this respect núraghs have had their full share, no less than four having been lavished upon them. These we will now briefly examine, pointing out that which, in our estimation, offers a greater degree of probability.[2]

The oldest and more widely diffused opinion is that núraghs were sepulchres. But if so, how does it come about that, despite numerous explorations undertaken to find buried bodies, so few have been disinterred as scarcely to deserve being taken into consideration. La Marmora knew of only one body found in a grave close to a núragh chamber, which, on the testimony of an old man, was dug up fourteen years before his first visit to Sardinia.[3] The same applies to other facts, said to have occurred, but resting on

[1] PAIS, *La Sardegna*, p. 25.

[2] See LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. ch. iv., and PAIS, *La Sardegna*, pp. 25–42.

[3] With the exception of the Mercurio and Adoni, little can be made of the names applied to núraghs in the various districts where they happen to be situated, for they are all modern, deriving their appellatives from some striking object near; such as a bridge, a fountain, a local magnate, a church, tree, quarry, etc., or some other trifling circumstance. The word "Adoni" is supposed to be the same as the Phœnician *Adonaï*, "lord"; similar names, however, are too few and susceptible of too many explanations to be of real value. LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. pp. 151, 152.

more or less vague reports.[1] Our reason for thinking this hypothesis unsound is the fact that nothing in the plans of núraghs discloses nook or corner where a sepulchre could have been placed. If núraghs were tombs, why those super-imposed chambers and flight of steps leading to the platform on the top? Are there traces indicative of rites or "cultus" in honour of the dead? Far from it; but they are found in abundance in the monuments known as giants' tombs in the proximity of núraghs, leaving no doubt as to their purpose. Since popular instinct, or rather tradition, is right in the name of these tombs, save that they are not gigantic, why ascribe a similar destination to núraghs? Is it likely that two classes of structure so diametrically different should have been created for one and the same end, and that núraghs should have served as fortresses as well as burial grounds, when edifices answering this purpose were in existence? On the other hand, both types of constructions belong to tribes closely related to each other—evinced in the building, which is always of large uncemented stones, whilst the objects found in these tombs are of the same description as those recovered in and about núraghs. If people were buried in the latter, it was the exception, not the rule, and must have occurred at a posterior epoch, when a dense population used every available spot for their dead. Vaults are said to exist under núraghs;[2] but before we reconsider the question at issue, we should like to see them, to be sure that they formed part of the primitive plan. Until such proofs are forthcoming, we may be excused if we refuse to recognize sepulchres other than those mentioned above. Nor will the hypothesis that núraghs were temples stand before the objection of thousands of sanctuaries having been required by the few semi-barbarous tribes credited with the erection of these buildings. A temple is a public edifice constructed for and used by the whole population on stated days to celebrate religious ceremonies. Therefore it is not easy to explain the presence of fifty, of two hundred temples on so small an area, for this would have provided every family, almost every individual, with a sanctuary apiece. But is not this contrary to past and present experience? Has not the temple been at all times the meeting-house, the moral link which keeps the tribe together? Were these structures, moreover, conceived

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, pp. 121–126; PAIS, *La Sardegna*, p. 29.
[2] PAIS, *La Sardegna*, p. 30, note 2.

in view of large congregations and the pomp of festivals? A glance will convince the most prejudiced that núraghs, with their low, irksome doorways, and gloomy chambers, could never have been raised for such a purpose. Supposing for a moment that the platform on the top was spacious enough to receive stags, sheep, and oxen, to be sacrificed to the tribal or national god, were not the entrance and steep narrow stairs formidable obstacles in the way?

Against this view are urged those objects of a votive character uncovered in a quadrangular enclosure near Teti, whose many recesses disclosed pedestals scattered about, which bore traces of weapons and figures having been soldered thereon (Fig. 29). The very mediocre plan we obtained of this structure shows it to have been a spacious open court, whose angles were rounded off.[1] This was forthwith declared to have been a sanctuary, and the adjoining building a núragh. We readily admit the existence of the former, but we submit that the latter has not been proved. The Balearic "talayots," closely resembling Sardinian towers, were next adduced as evidence; because in their immediate vicinity are usually met curious structures supposed to have been altars, formed of an upright post firmly fixed to the ground, upon which a huge slab is horizontally placed (Fig. 30).[2] But the awkward fact that whenever priest or layman wished to place offerings on the said slab a ladder was required, works against the altar theory. With all reserve, we think that they were intended as sepulchral stelæ; and whether this be so or not future discoveries will alone reveal. Finally, we might name scores of núraghs whose position on the top of mountains, with abrupt precipitous sides, must have

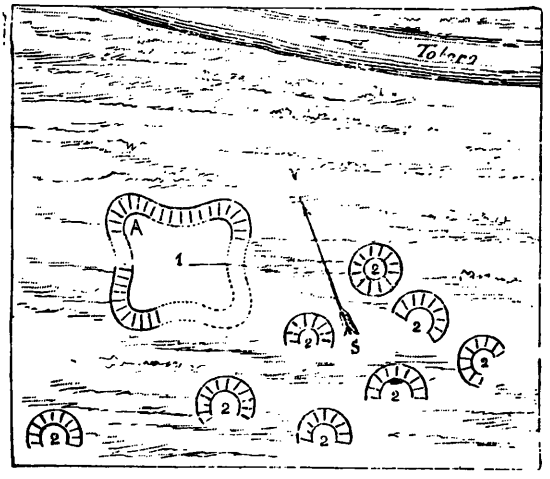


FIG. 29.—Plan of ruins at Teti. From Gouin.

[1] PAIS, *Bollettino*, p. 156. 1884.
[2] PAIS, *La Sardegna*, p. 32.

presented at all times difficulties of ascension.[1] From the earliest ages, and in countries the most diverse, the primary condition in public or domestic buildings has been that they should be provided with easy approaches, and as commodious inner distribution as circumstances would permit. Now, very few núraghs can be said to fulfil the first of these conditions, whilst the other is realized by none.

However far removed from the multiplicity of our requirements and fastidious tastes, it is impossible to admit that these natives, even supposing them to have been mere savages, can have submitted to live in houses, deprived of air and light, where fires were

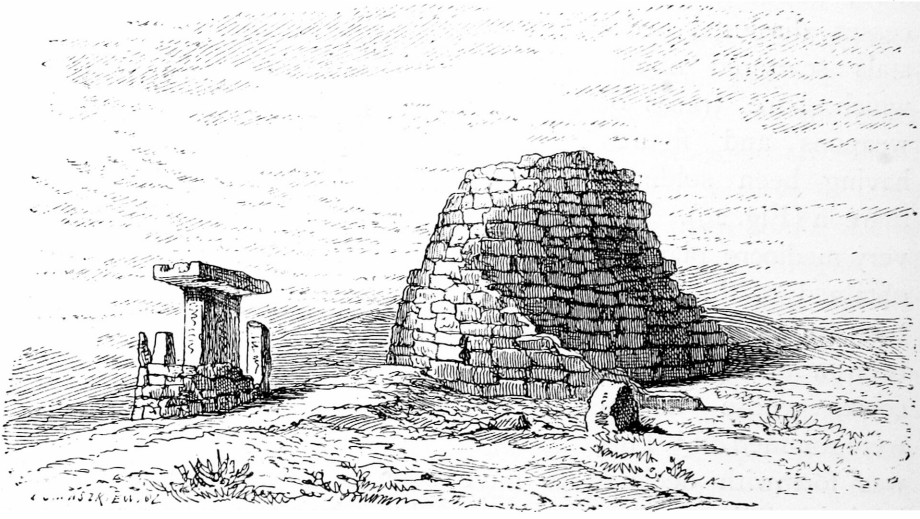
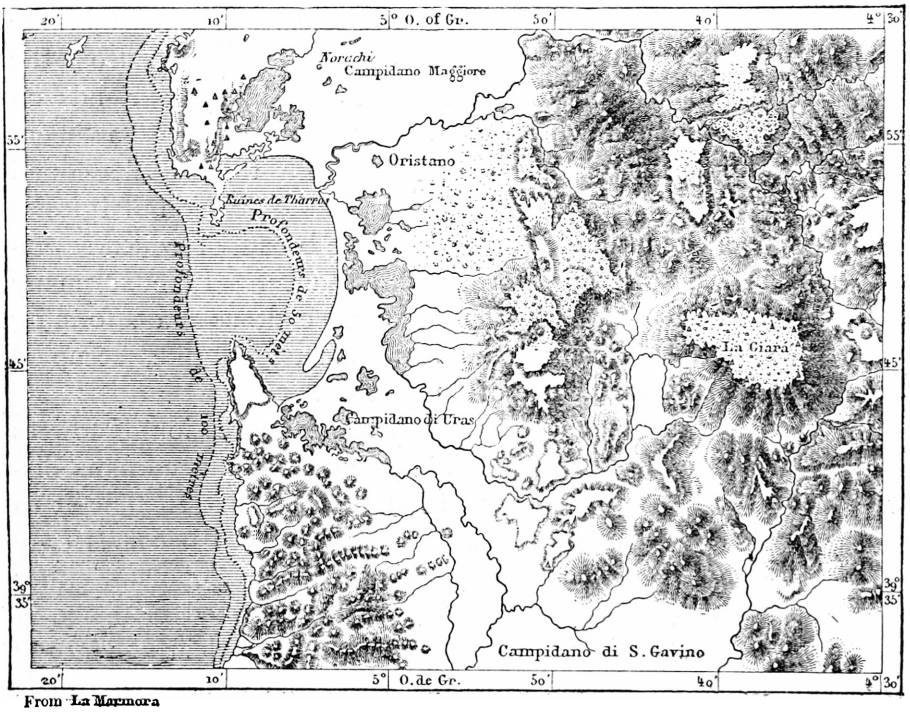


FIG. 30.—Stela and Talayot, in the Balearic Islands. La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate XL., fig. 3.

not to be had with any comfort, since the smoke could only escape, as in Greek huts, through the interstices left by the beams; where, summer or winter, no viands could be cooked, and where every time they passed in or out of the doorway, they must have done so on all fours. The tower-builders, like their descendants at the present day, lived in huts, made with piese or stones loosely put together, in the immediate vicinity of núraghs. These could be used as fortresses, general repositories for weapons, provisions, valuables, and shelters in troublous times. From the commanding position of the terrace, the eye could travel over the whole country. At the least sign of danger fires were lighted as signals, which

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, pp. 52–64.

were immediately repeated from one hill top to another, until the whole country was ablaze with lights. If the enemy came within reach, arrows and every kind of missile were forthwith showered upon them; if they tried to force an entrance, the opening was filled up by a huge stone block, kept in place by stout bars, or rather beams. When, through some accident, there had been no time to block the entrance, a couple of men sufficed, for a while



From La Marmora

Núraghs are indicated by sign ▲

Scale from 1:308.640

0 5 10

FIG. 31.—La Giara, Reclus, *Géographie Universelle*, tom. 1.

at least, to keep at bay the whole band. In double-storied núraghs, when the ground floor was in the hands of the invaders, all means of resistance were not exhausted. Owing to the peculiar disposition of the stairs having the first step some yards from the ground, as well as thick walls and lack of war-engines on the part of the enemy, the upper floor could be defended to the last, and was only reduced by famine. When supplied with bread and water, even the smallest núraghs were able to hold out hours and days, thus

tiring out the foe, and compelling him to disperse; helped too by their friends who had hastened to the rescue and taken the adversary on his rear. Hard at all times must have been the fate of the besieged; closely packed in narrow gloomy chambers, with no air or light, except what was let in through the tiny loopholes already mentioned, or when the business at hand allowed them a little breathing time on the terrace. In "agglomerated towers," where the number of chambers and the size of terraces were considerable, the whole tribe could be housed and the cattle enclosed in the inner courtyards; whilst the men told off to fetch water from the neighbouring springs or wells were protected by their friends on the terrace.[1] Some few were very extensive and veritable entrenched camps, wherein several tribes with their flocks found refuge. Such was the Giara dei Gestori, in the division of Iglesias (Fig. 31), about ten kilometres long by five broad, of which seventeen towers still attest its former importance. Like so many outposts, they rose on every peak or precipitous crag, forming a belt around the principal buildings which, giant-like, occupied the two hillocks in the centre of the plateau.

Nor is this a solitary instance; the same impression of towers having surrounded a vast refuge is conveyed by the núraghs distributed in the Sinis peninsula.[2] If at the outset it is difficult to explain the destination of small, isolated towers, it becomes easy reading when we approach them in their full development, either as agglomerated (the Sarecci and Ortu) or as fortified plateaux, in which the leading principle which created them is clearly evinced.[3]

In a state of barbarism, when insecurity and violence were rife between families and clans of the same stock, notably between tribes of different race, it was natural that each group should have been possessed of structures in which to stow away a few valuables, and find refuge in seasons of great distress for themselves and families. We need not go far back to find parallel cases in comparatively recent times. In the Middle Ages the great Italian families, more particularly in the Romagne and Tuscany, owned

[1] PAIS, *La Sardegna*, p. 36.

[2] LA MARMORA, *Atlas*, Plate VIII., figs. 6 and 7: "Nuraghs, posted on the spurs of the hill range along the high road leading to Paoli-Latino, guarded the Beauladu Valley."

[3] The solution proposed in these pages is M. PAIS'S, or, at least, that towards which he seems to incline; whilst fully admitting that núraghs may have been sometimes used as temples and sepulchres, we are more affirmative, and believe that they were above all fortresses, and that if used for any other purpose it was secondary.



FIG. 32.—The Tamuli Núragh and Giants Tombs. La Marmora. Plate III., fig. 1.

stupendous towers which, like the Bologna and St. Gemiano, cause the traveller passing through those parts to wonder at the purpose of their erection.[1] The same was observable in Greece, where only thirty years ago no family of importance but had a "pyrgos." It was generally a lofty, massive pile, occupying the centre of the village, and always kept in good repair; for at the approach of Turkish pirates, or during an affray between the leading families, in which the whole population took part, it became a fortress for the weak side, which hastened to the pyrgos, whence they harassed their opponents with the impunity afforded by thick high walls. Nor were the besieged better off in the Greek tower than their Sardinian fellow sufferers, for here also they might be kept prisoners for weeks, never attempting a sortie except to fetch water at the common well.[2] The present writer visited the Vitylo tower, and heard from the old men of the place that, before King Otho, they had taken refuge in it many a time. Núraghs, therefore, were the Sardinian pyrgos of the family or tribe, according to their greater or smaller size. They formed the village centre, around and within which clustered the population, whose light tenements and farm houses, with huge yards for cattle and sheep, were spread over a vast area, and encompassed by rude outer walls.[3] Here, too, were to be found workshops for manufacturing arms, implements, and utensils in bronze, and in all probability a small stock-in-trade.[4] Finally, under the protecting shadow of núraghs the dead found their last resting-place (Fig. 32).[5]

[1] "The higher the tower the greater the family," is an Italian saying.—TRANSLATOR.

[2] Greek pyrgos are due to Italian influence, and are owned to the present day, as a rule, by those families who did not retire to Venice after the fall of that Republic. —TRANSLATOR.

[3] In these enclosures are huge, uncut stone blocks strewn about the ground, called by the peasantry "lacco-lacchi" (troughs), owing to a groove or cavity on the upper surface, varying from two to three, rarely more than 12 or 15 centimetres deep. But these grooves are much too narrow and shallow to have served for such a purpose. The sides toward the brim have traces of sunken lines, indicating that they were intended to receive a lid. These grooved blocks are found in great number in the main court of the Losa Núragh. Their object has not been explained, although La Marmora drew attention to their peculiarities more than forty years ago (LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, tom. ii. pp. 71, 72).

[4] M. PAIS has collected a considerable number of bronze specimens, disinterred in or about núraghs (*La Sardegna*, p. 36, note 3); whilst M. GOUIN, from whom we quote, states: "I have often met around Laconi, Arcidano, and the broad level small bits of copper scoriæ and bronze fragments of arms, *for the most part at the foot of núraghs*" (*Notice sur les Mines de la Sardaigne*, p. 50. Cagliari, 1867).

[5] Albeit faulty in perspective, this view, which we reproduce, conveys a clear idea

By comparing the best preserved monuments and the sites in which they occur, it is possible to reproduce a picture, in broad outlines, of the life and manners of the more civilized natives. In the strict sense of the word, they had no cities—at least, not walled ones—and seem to have lived closely packed together in numerous villages, some of considerable size, occupying well-selected positions, rendered conspicuous at a long distance by the truncated cones of the central towers. Some few hamlets and isolated dwellings there may have been, but all industrial activity, deserving the name, was carried on around núraghs, where on stated days markets were held, and where the rustics, tillers, or woodmen repaired to have their quarrels settled by the elders, or to purchase arms, implements, utensils, and, during intervals of peace, imported objects. Thus these edifices were the nucleus around which the first glimmer of civilization was formed. When in perfect condition their imposing aspect, despite their rude make, struck the Greek mariners, who would seem to have penetrated in the interior, and whose astonishment at seeing them on every crest, jutting point, and mound was extreme. Aristotle seems to allude to these towers in the following passage: "Beautiful edifices, with vaults to heighten the effect of their fine proportions, disposed in true Greek style, are stated to exist in Sardinia."[1]

Now these vaulted buildings can only have been núraghs, which the writer compared in his mind to the native "Thesaurions" at Mycenæ and Orchomenos, associated with a semi-god or hero, and the object of frequent pilgrimages. Hence he ascribes a similar origin to the Sardinian towers, crediting Iolaos, grandson of

of both tower and sepulchres. The plan (Fig. 36) is reduced between the first and second tomb "to fit," says La Marmora, "the printer's plate." As we had not the suppressed spaces of the monument, we have represented them closer to each other than they were in reality, the better to show the disposition of the sepulchres. The prism-like shape of the basalt stones surrounding is very striking.

[1] Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, § 100: Ἐν τῇ Σαρδοῖ τῇ νήσῳ κατασκευάσματά φασιν εἶναι εἰς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον διακείμενα τὸν ἀρχαῖον, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, καὶ θόλους περισσοῖς τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς κατεξεσμένους. It seems probable that the matter relative to Western Europe, contained in chapters 78–114, 119, 130, 132, was chiefly borrowed from Timœus; whilst Polycritus, Theopompus, and Lycos of Rhegium furnished the 112th. The first 151 chapters, however, were not written later than the second century B.C., probably much earlier, when Carthage still retained her prestige over the Baleares, and possibly Sicily (VALENTINE ROSE, *De Aristotelis librorum*, etc., p. 55. Berlin, 1854; H. SCHRAEDER, *Uber die Quellen der pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift, περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, in *Iahrbücher für Philologie*, tom. xcvii. pp. 217 and following.

Heracles, as their founder. Diodorus speaks in vaguer terms of the Sardinian structures, attributing them to Dædælos, the Greek prototype of sculpture and architecture.[1] Dismissing the idea which would connect the Sardinians with the Hellenes of Argos, Attica, and Bœotia, who during a certain lapse of time raised tombs resembling núraghs in disposition, it is none the less true that these elementary towers represent a very peculiar type of architecture adopted by the early Greeks, but without adhering to the style, ere long replaced by more artistic conceptions. With

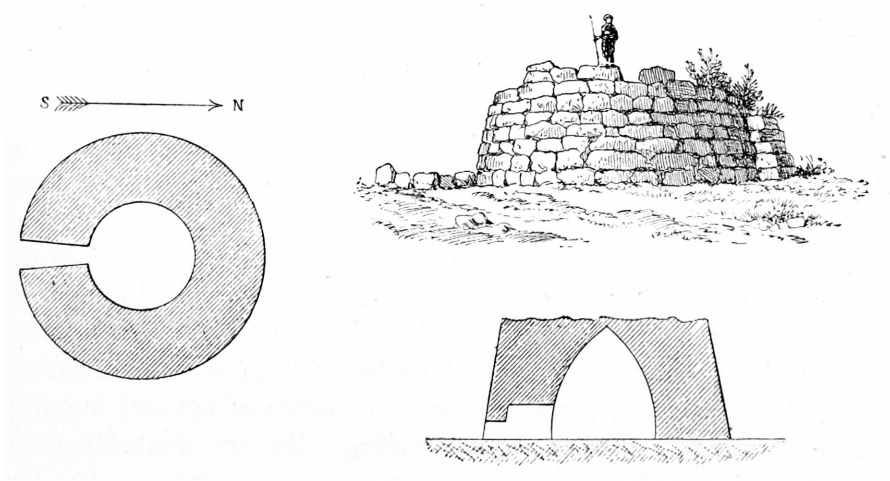


FIG. 33.—Balearic Jalayot. Plan, section, elevation. La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate XL.

the Sardinians, on the other hand, the type was strictly preserved, and carried to the utmost perfection it was susceptible to attain in the three storied-tower. Nevertheless, Sardinia is not the undisputed home of núraghs, for they are found likewise in the western districts of the Mediterranean. We know of no towers in Malta or Sicily, but "sesi," *i.e.* two-storied towers, built with uncemented stones, are met with in Pantellaria; whilst the "talayots," in the Balearic islands, are so akin to núraghs as to be almost identical.[2] Talayots are generally discovered in a ruinous state, but enough is preserved to show that they were possessed of the same plan, truncated cones, means of defence, doorways, central apartments with adjoining cells, and, finally, the same domes, narrowing towards the top (Figs. 30 and 33). The only

[1] DIODORUS appears to have drawn from the same sources as the pseudo-Aristotle, but, as is customary with him, he "touched up" his author (IV. xxx. 1).

[2] The word "talayot" is a diminutive of "atalaya," "watch-tower."

[3] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. p. 544.

point of divergence between talayots and núraghs is, that in the former the flight of steps leading to the platform on the top is always *outside.* This difference, however, is more apparent than real; for La Marmora, whose drawing we reproduce, distinctly states that, owing to some of the slabs in the facing having fallen, the remaining ones yield convenient steps for reaching the top.[1] This is confirmed by many scholars, who had better opportunities for studying these monuments than fell to the lot of La Marmora in his flying visit. They ascertained that the upper storey and terrace, now destroyed, were formerly possessed of an intervening flight of steps.[2]

The length of time during which núraghs were built is unknown, but it is evident, from their number and the vast area they cover, that they were the work of several generations. Nothing is to be deduced from the fact that the arches of a Roman acqueduct rest upon the Nora Núragh, which must have presented as ruinous an aspect, when the Romans used it as a foundation, as it does in the present day;[3] and it is quite possible that núraghs had long been abandoned in a city occupied by the Phœnicians and the Romans afterwards, whilst they continued to be built in the more retired parts of the country; for a deep-seated custom of several hundred years duration is not easily set aside. We are doubtful as to the expediency of dividing núraghs into two categories, as has been proposed, viewing as older, those almost entirely constructed with unhewn stones, and as comparatively modern, those exhibiting traces of the hammer, since such divergence may be due to the nature of the material employed, varying from one district to another, or to fortuitous circumstances, such as hurried building in one set of towers, whilst great care and leisure were bestowed upon another. In scores of these monuments the stonework presents slabs of smaller dimension and better prepared as it rises from the ground, although there are no indications showing dif-

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, p. 348.

[2] Juan Ramis y Ramis, quoted by LA MARMORA (*Voyage en Sardaigne*, p. 551). See also *Islas Baleares e nuraghes Sardes, apuntes archeologicos* de Don Francesco Martorelli y Pina ordenados por Salvador Sampere y Miquel, pp. 199 and 203. Barcelona, 1879. The inner stairs are specially mentioned by Curnia and Di Puenta Caja. Cf. OLIO Y QUADRADO, *Historia de la isla de Menorca*, tom. ii. p. 375, 1876: "Los talayóts son atraversados por una escalera interior o una galeria simple o bifurcada con nichos o alcobillas a los lados."

[3] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. p. 52.

ferent date in the building.[1] According to this theory, towers with one storey (many may be, after all, of recent date) would represent the dawn of this style of building, whilst the later would be obtained in agglomerated núraghs. Without pronouncing definitively, we are inclined to place these masterpieces of Sardinian workmanship during the Phœnician period, when the natives were provided with better tools and had acquired more skill in using them, enabling them to undertake works of which the main idea may have been suggested by the native soldiers, who had witnessed similar fortifications in their African and Sicilian campaigns. This would explain the existence of vast and complicated núraghs, such as the Sarecci and Ortu.

When this mode of construction was abandoned, it is impossible to say, for data on the subject fail us altogether. But although núraghs are no longer built in Sardinia, they still exist in the districts of Bari, Lecce, Otranto, and Puglia, where they retain their Latin name "truddhu," "trullum," the *d* being equivalent to *l* in the local dialect.[2] By reference to Figs. 34 and 35, the ordinary type of this kind of structure will be seen. "The truddhu," says Lenormant, from whom we quote, "is a massive conical tower, built almost with uncut stones loosely put together, the facing alone exhibiting more care in the fitting and shape of the material, without aiming at uniformity. The interior of the edifice is occupied by a round vaulted chamber, shaped like a 'tholos;' this form being obtained by a series of corbelled and superimposed courses. As a rule, this is the only apartment on the ground floor, to which a low doorway, with a huge slab forming the lintel, gives access. It sometimes happens that the truddhu is of more than ordinary size, when a second chamber is placed on the second floor, which is reached by a narrow winding staircase, always seen on the outside of the building even when no second chamber occurs; for it communicates with the paved terrace on the top, investing the edifice with a truncated, cone-like aspect. The terrace is generally flat, but it assumes sometimes the form of a circular, gently sloping roof, growing to

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. pp. 65, 66, 78. More particularly examine the Nieddu núraghs (Fig. 18).

[2] These particulars and illustrations on next page are due to M. Lenormant (*Notes Archéologiques, sur la terre d'Otrante*), *Gazette Archéologiques*, 7me. année, pp. 32, 39, *specchie* et *truddhi*.

a point towards the extremity. When truddhi are specially well constructed, the slope on the sides, instead of being uniform, exhibits three successive and slightly retreating gradations."[1] Thus it will be seen that beyond their relative size, the outward aspect and position of the stairs, there is no difference between núraghs and truddhi.

Truddhi are used by the peasantry as shelter and places to

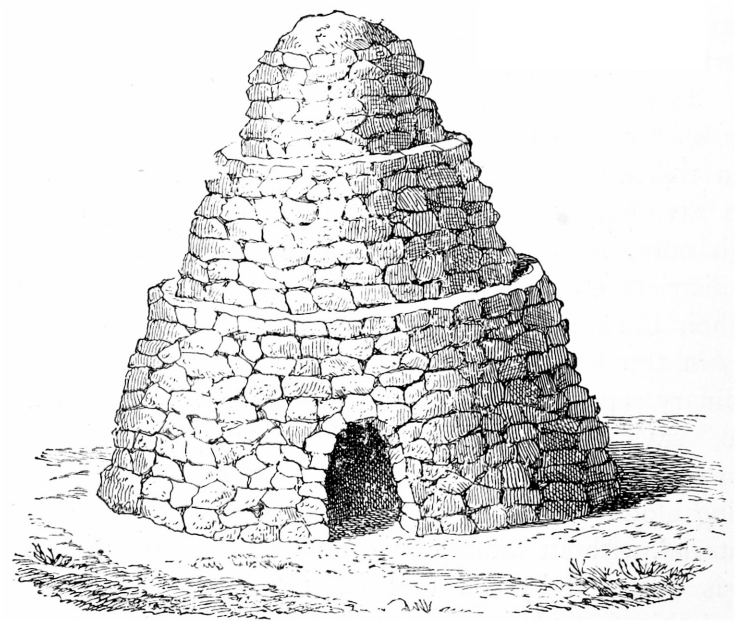


FIG. 34.—Truddhu. Puglia.

sleep in at sowing and harvest-time; their fields, being sometimes miles away from their homes, induce absences of several days and even weeks, during which they can hope for no better accommodation than what they will find in their truddhi. Hence the development of agglomerated núraghs is not to be expected here, since they are but copies, on a reduced scale, of an older and larger type existing in the same district, and called "specchie," from the Latin "specula," watch-towers. Specchie are in such a state of dilapidation that their base lies buried under accumulated detritus, but what remains shows that they were stone-built structures, with truncated tops and outer facing of more careful make than the interior, albeit irregularly formed,

[1] FR. LENORMANT, I. i. pp. 33, 34.

similar in fact to modern truddhi, save that their stones were on a much larger pattern. Local opinion is divided as to the end for which specchie were erected—whether as monumental tombs, houses, strong signal towers, or alarm posts, against inroads by land and notably by sea. Their name, and their being often met on the sea-shore, lend colouring to the latter hypothesis, which is further strengthened by the area they sometimes occupy, the Colona specchia, between Lecce and Otranto, measuring 257 metres at the base, whilst the best preserved side is still 17

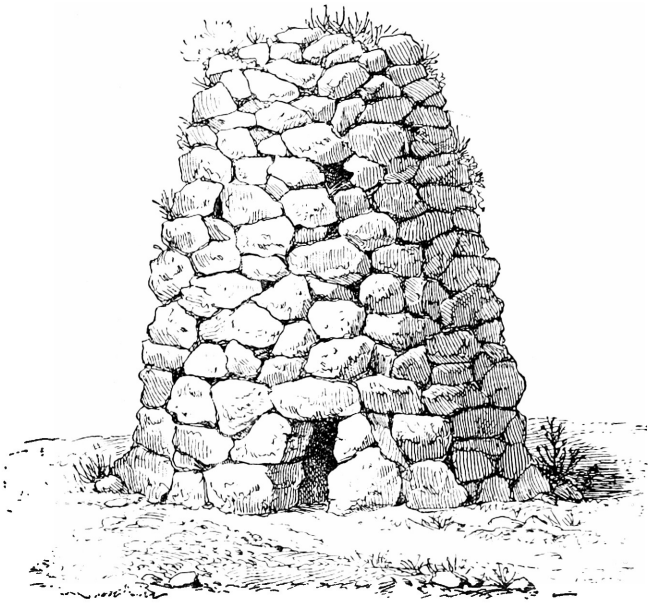


FIG. 35.—Truddhu. Otranto.

metres, *e.g.* the exact dimensions of agglomerated núraghs. Were specchie thoroughly explored, much light would be obtained as to their plan, arrangement, and probable destination; meanwhile we must be satisfied with assumptions of a more or less speculative character in regard to them.

The oldest inhabitants of that part of Italy were the Iapyges and Messapians, who remained uncivilized until they became acquainted with Tarentum, and who are naturally credited with the building of the towers under notice. The type once adopted in this outlying district was persisted in by successive generations with no appreciative change; contemporaneously with the

noble and diversified public edifices of the Greek colonists, and of Rome afterwards.

Are we therefore to infer relationship between Italiots and núragh builders? We are of opinion that so long as the Calabrese specchie are imperfectly understood, it would be rash, not to say unjustifiable, to draw a similar conclusion. Viewed in its simplest expression, this mode of building rests on two fundamental ideas, namely, to provide a large base to ensure solidity, making the walls to slope upwards by means of corbelled and superimposed stones, the remaining space being filled up by a huge slab. It is a style which is likely to originate with primitive peoples, and which does not necessarily imply imitation by contact with other nationalities. But it is quite a different matter when a whole and complicated system, with special arrangement, has been evolved, testifying to considerable powers of reflection and adjustment as to ways and means. If we meet with the same distribution in Sardinia and the Baleares, if this resemblance is emphasized by the same leading features in the tombs around núraghs and talayots, then and only then are we justified in our conclusion that something other than mere coincidence brought this about, that the two people were closely related, that they had continuous intercourse with each other, and if data are wanting for placing such an hypothesis beyond dispute, we may reasonably suppose them to belong to a common stock, and that anterior to their separation they were possessed of the first elements of this mode of architecture, which they applied and developed respectively in their new homes.

§ 3.—*Giants' Tombs, Cromlechs, or Dolmens.*

In our last section we incidentally stated that the sepulchres of the tower-builders were always found in the immediate vicinity of núraghs (Fig. 32).[1] These tombs consist of an hemicycle, forming a kind of vestibule, a large stela, and a grave varying in length from five to ten metres and upwards. Hence the name of "sepolture dessi giganti," applied to these monuments by the natives (Fig. 36); whilst the stela, never less, and often more than three metres high, is oblong in shape towards the upper

[1] Consult LA MARMORA's description of these sepulchres (*Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. pp. 16, 21, 23, 27, etc.).

extremity, and tends sometimes to narrow towards the lower, yielding as nearly as possible the section of a truncated egg (Fig. 37). Towards the hemicycle, the stela is surrounded by a raised border about one foot broad; and a similar ornamental band is laid across at about a third of its height, forming at the base a square compartment with a small aperture, either square or circular, wreathed like the stela by a raised, but narrower border. This doorway, small for a child, was the only means of communication with the vault, which was surrounded sometimes by a low wall, like the hemicycle, or by a double or treble row of juxtaposed slabs, fixed edgewise to the ground, forming a kind of passage about 1 m. 50 c. broad, covered over by more massive

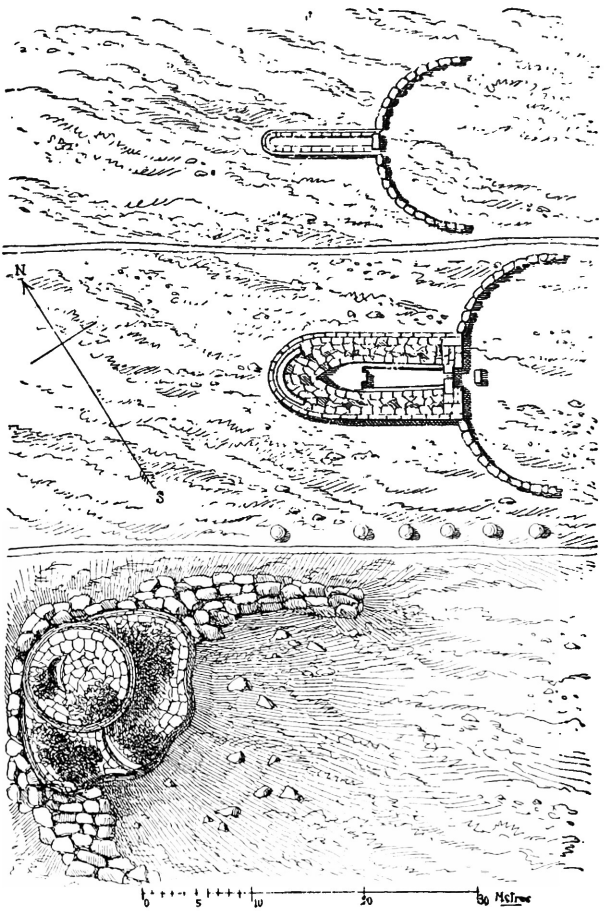


FIG. 36.—Plan of the Tamulu Núragh and neighbouring Tombs, La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate III., fig. 1, *bis*.

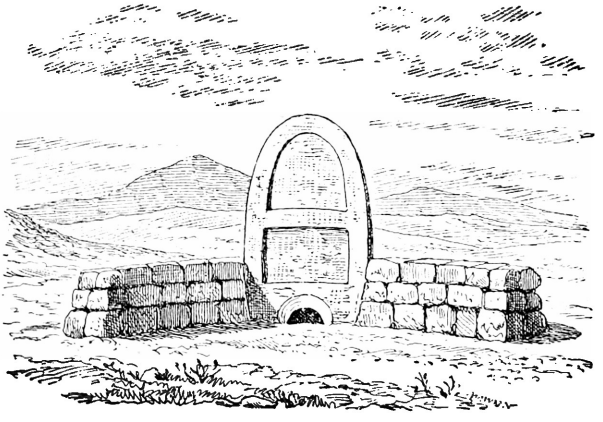


FIG. 37.—A Giant's Tomb. La Marmora. *Atlas*, P ate IV.

slabs, upon which a layer of earth was laid (Fig. 38). Sometimes a huge block having a circular cavity in the centre, apparently for the head, forms the upper extremity of the grave.[1] It will be seen that the innermost portion of the vault was taken up by the body, whilst the remaining space was used by sorrowing friends for depositing such objects as the dead were supposed to require in their long journey beyond the grave. The idea of subterraneous chambers, with doorways impossible to any but infants, having been used for other than burial purposes, cannot be entertained, the more so that human remains and other bones, bronze weapons, and terra-cotta vases have been found in them.[2] Consequent on the size and shape of these tombs, there is no indication of the bodies having been cremated. They all point exactly ten degrees south, the dead having their faces turned to the first rays of the rising sun.[3]

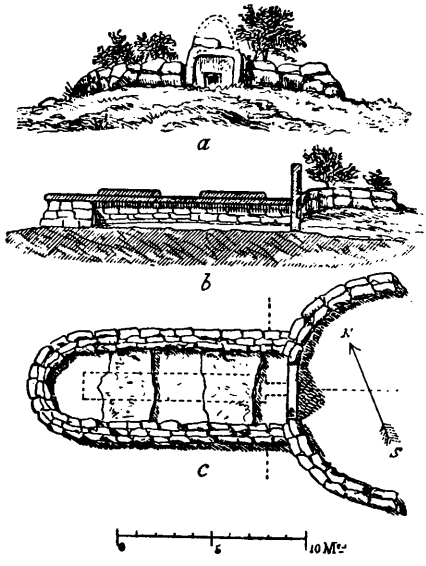


FIG. 38.—A Giant's Tomb; *a*, elevation; *b*, longitudinal section; *c*, plan. La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate IV.

A noteworthy feature in these monuments is the aperture seen in the stela through which the hand was passed for placing libations and offerings. A circumstance of the utmost significance and which serves to determine that a "cultus" of the dead existed with these islanders, as with all the nations with whom we are acquainted. In all probability the aperture was closed by a slab, and only opened on stated and special days.

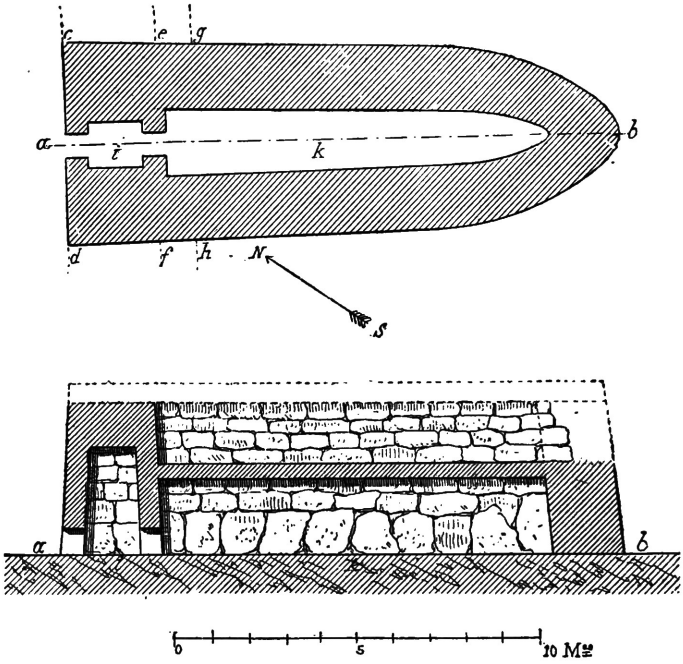
The elevated position, the peculiar aspect of Sardinian sepulchres, whose lofty stelæ were conspicuous at a distance, notably the remarkable size of the mortuary chamber, attracted the attention of the inquisitive and observant Greeks. Aristotle seems to allude to the customary rites practised around them, when he states that people were wont to sleep near them in the

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. pp. 10, 11, and 30, 31, Plate III. figs. 1 and 3, letter I.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 31.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 35.

hope of dreaming dreams,[1] which were accepted as oracles; for in them were buried the sons of Heracles and of the Thespiades, to whom, with Iolaos, the first Greek colonies were due.[2] Therein Aristotle, and his commentator after him, erred; inasmuch as Hellenic elements are entirely absent from these sepulchres, whose prototype must be sought among a nameless, pre-historic people without record in the world's annals. The sepulchral memorials of Sardinia are the development and perfection of the megalithic monuments met with in India, Palestine, North Africa,



FIGS. 39 and 40.—The Nao Núragh. Plan and section. La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate XXXIX.

Western Europe, and singularly akin to the covered avenues of the Celts; lacking, it is true, the lofty proportion of these, but, on the other hand, far better enclosed. The affinity is carried into some of the stelæ details, namely, the small aperture which distinguishes the Celtic monuments known as "bored or holed dolmens."[3]

The chief difference between covered avenues, dolmens, and

[1] ARISTOTLE, φυσικὴ ἀκρόσις, IV. xi. 1.

[2] SEMPLICIUS, on the above passage.

[3] ALEX. BERTRAND, *L'Alleé Couverte de Conflans et les Dolmens troués* (*Archéologie Celtique and Gauloise*, pp. 165–174, 1876.

Sardinian sepulchres, consists in this: that the former are constructed with massive, unhewn stones, whilst in the latter they are often square cut and put together with a certain degree of skill, care being had to diminish the space in the upper portion of the passage by making the stones to overlap. As in the núragh chamber, so in these monuments, the low wall visible from outside has a deep inward incline, yielding one more proof in this simple and clear chain of evidence, that núraghs and tombs were coeval and raised by the same people.[1]

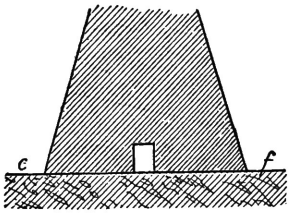


FIG. 41.—The Nao. Section through *e, f.* La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate XXXIX.

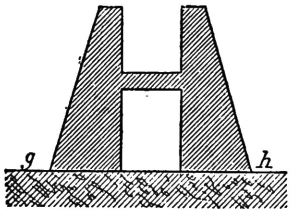


FIG. 42.—The Nao. Section through *g, h.* La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate XXXIX.

This wall deflection is seen in a monument of Minorca, known as the "Nao," because of its real or fanciful resemblance to a ship, in which it is impossible not to recognize a tomb;[2] shown in our plan (Fig. 39); lengthwise cut (Fig. 40); transverse cuts (Figs. 41 and 42); and perspective view (Fig. 43). Like the giants' tombs, the general outlines consist of a low, narrow vault on the ground-floor; its only communication with the outer world was a small aperture, to which the dignified name of door must be refused. There are, however, differences in the distribution and inner details. Thus the Nao was formerly possessed of two vaulted storeys, but no stela or hemicycle, which may nevertheless have been there; the former composed of stones, which have disappeared, whilst the stela has dwindled into a conical projection, indicated by dots in Fig. 44. It should be noted in this place, that even in Sardinia the stela is not always a monolith, but formed sometimes of two or three superimposed slabs.[3] Considered as a whole, therefore, there are reasons for acknowledging two distinct varieties of the same type in the sepulchral structures of Sardinia and the Baleares, the fundamental characteristics of which had been fixed in the early home

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. p. 28. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 542, 543.

NOTE.—I may perhaps be permitted to note that "menhirs" are long or standing stones; "dolmens," stone tables or slabs; and "cromlechs," circles formed of menhirs.—EDITOR.

[3] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. pp. 25, 27.

common to both, before they settled in the western islands of the Mediterranean, when each group modified the primitive pattern, of which certain elements, discarded in one locality, were



FIG. 43.—The Nao Núragh. Perspective view. La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate XXXIX.

given prominence in another, resulting in variety of detail, whilst retaining the ruling principle.

Within our knowledge the well-wrought, conical mile-stones (?) met with at the sides or fronting the giants' tombs, have not been found about the Nao, or in any sepulchral monument (Figs. 32 and 45).[1] But a relationship may be established between a tombal structure, of which the hemicycle alone remains, and some huge, unhewn stones, or "menhirs," fixed to the ground, bearing a faint resemblance to a cone.[2] Have these mile-stones and standing monoliths any affinity with the cones of a religious character seen in Phœnician temples? We cannot vouchsafe a categorical answer, save that the terra-cottas, bronzes, coins, etc., recovered in Sardinia, all suggest Phœnician influence; which the interesting monument, called *Perda Lunga*, "long stone," serves further to illustrate (Fig. 46). It consists of three rude, obelisk-shaped menhirs, of which the highest now lies

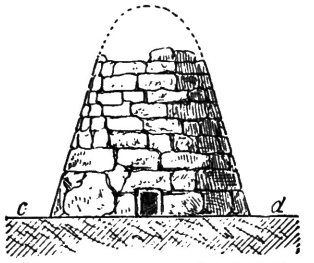


FIG. 44.—The Nao Núragh. Restored elevation through *c*, *d*.

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, Pt. II. pp. 10–20, Plate III.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 7, Plate II. fig. 3.

prostrate on the floor of a circular area paved with large stones, surrounded by a row of smaller ones, which stood formerly upright, but are scattered about at the present day. The central menhir, oval shaped rather than perfectly round, measured, when

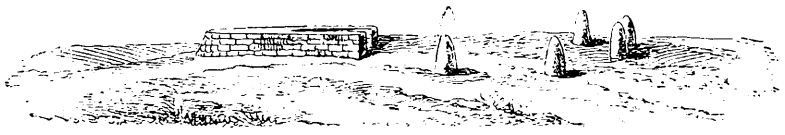


FIG. 45.—Giant's Tomb. La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate III.

intact, 6 m. 50 c. in height. It bears evident marks of the chisel, whilst the two lateral appear to be of unhewn stones. Our plate shows the monument as La Marmora found it at the beginning of this century, when La Perda Lunga was still standing.[1] On the testimony of this and subsequent travellers,

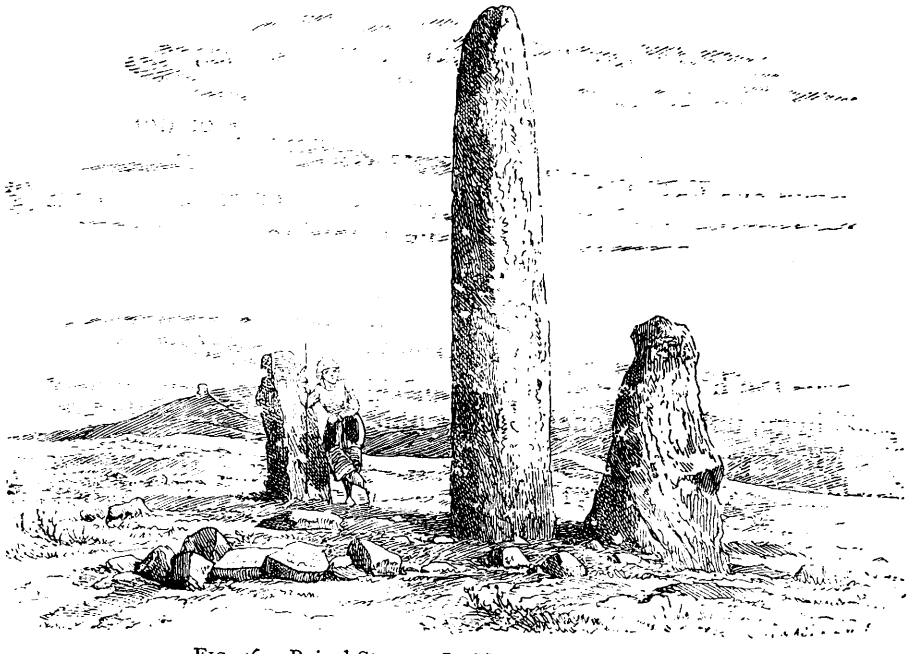


FIG. 46.—Raised Stones. La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate II.

similar monuments exist on various points of Sardinia and the Baleares;[2] nor are cromlechs of rare occurrence in the former island, where, for the most part, they are arranged in elliptical figures, the diameter of which varies from 10 to 15 metres;

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, pp. 2, 3, Plate II. fig. 2. [2] *Ibid.* p. 1.

M. Gouin having noticed two in the commune of Abbasanta. One of these monuments, composed of eighteen stones, surround-

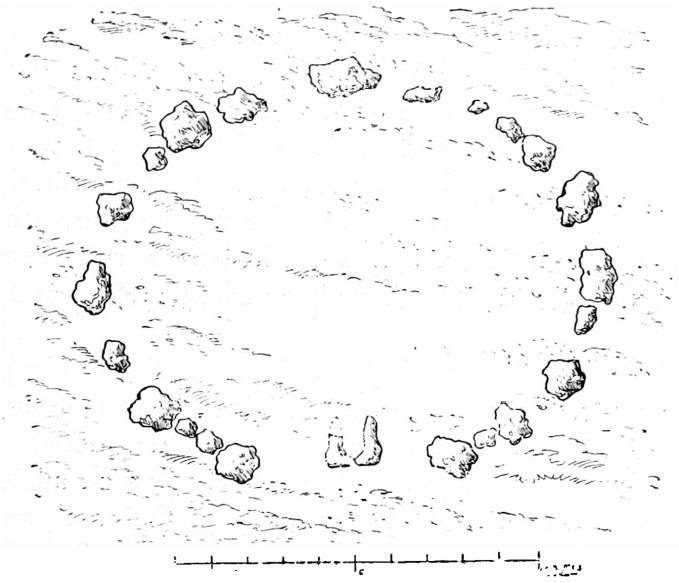
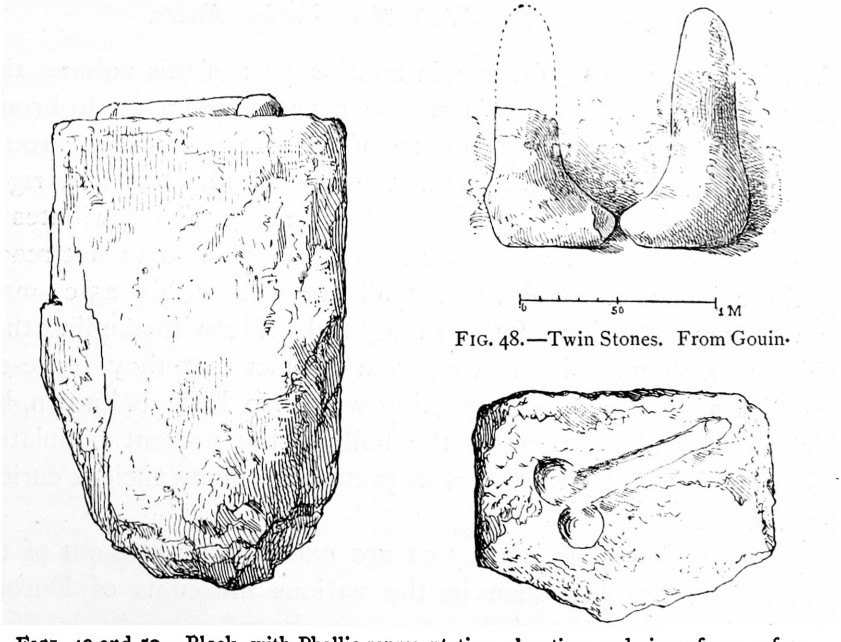


FIG. 47.—Stone Circle. From Gouin.

ing a circle of smaller ones, is entitled "snake-cromlech," because



FIGS. 49 and 50.—Block, with Phallic representation, elevation, and view of upper face.

FIG. 48.—Twin Stones. From Gouin.

of the helical form of its outline. At a short distance from this

is another, known as "female's feet-cromlech," owing to two peculiar-shaped stones raised two metres above the surrounding level, apparently beginning the circle (Fig. 47). The height of the ground on which stand the two stones is indicated in Fig. 48. In the same district M. Gouin discovered blocks of trachyte sculptured in low relief with phallic devices (Figs. 49, 50), from which it may be inferred that the emblem of life was held in high esteem by the Syrians and Sardi. Our information upon Balearic monuments is far from being complete; nevertheless we are able to state that cromlechs having, as a rule, two central stones supposed to be altars, have been disinterred around talayots (Fig. 30).[1]

From these dolmens, cromlechs, and altars little is to be gathered respecting the manner of life and religious beliefs of the people who erected them. The dimensions and inner details of their sepulchral structures have yielded memorials of their ancient rites and customs, and we hope that the study of their art productions will enable us further to raise the veil wherein the origin and history of the núragh-builders have lain enshrouded.

§ 4.—*Bronzes, Statuettes, Votive Boats.*

We had occasion to observe, in another part of this volume, that statuettes of men and animals, weapons and implements in bronze were recovered on many points of Sardinia, notably around núraghs. The archaic character, the strange dryness and rigidness of outline, the peculiarities of dress, make, and attributes of these figures, together with their diminutive size, some not reaching three inches in height, whilst all are well within 25 c., mark them to the attention of the thoughtful. Notwithstanding their rude aspect, they are interesting from the fact that they represent the effigies of a people respecting which so little is known, but which in all probability form the bulk of the present population of Sardinia, stated by travellers as preserving many ancient curious customs.

Moreover, Sardinian statuettes are exceedingly rare out of the country, and the few seen in the various museums of Europe, owing to imperfect knowledge, are not always properly classified,

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, pp. 546–549

nor are they to be compared with the rich collections at Cagliari and Sassari, including private ones, which are little visited by outsiders. Hence our desire to make them public property will be appreciated by the reader when we state that only a few years back their existence was unknown to all except half a dozen scholars. In describing them, however, the historian will be unable to follow the method he employed with Phœnician and Cypriote art-productions. These, it will be recollected, were produced from moulds yielding several samples, and afterwards touched up with thumb or boaster according to the degree of skill and fancy of the potter; hence the facility afforded us for selecting pieces as types among the vast numbers of such monuments. It is otherwise with Sardinian bronzes, where the difficulties besetting the classifier are well-nigh insurmountable, owing to their endless variety, not two being exactly alike. The notable difference between the figures induces the belief that they were cast over a central and removable core. To give, therefore, an adequate idea of the workmanship and detail of these figures would require samples of all the well-preserved and genuine pieces preserved in the various collections which have been most liberally opened to us.

La Marmora and Gerhardt, who first wrote about these statuettes, called them "idols," believing them to be representations of deities.[1] Much ingenuity was displayed by the latter in trying to prove that they belonged to the Phœnician celestial host, but later excavations have enabled archæologists to arrive at a more correct conclusion.[2] Of the genuine bronzes recovered by La Marmora, only a small number can be assigned a divine character. Such is Fig. 51, showing the back and front view of a statuette dug up at Teti, having two pair of arms and an equal number of eyes distributed indifferently about head and limbs, and carrying a couple of swords and circular shields on each arm. In Fig. 52, from the same locality, is the statuette to the right with three pair of eyes

[1] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, tom. ii. ch. vi. 1840: *Idoles Sardes proprement dites.* See also G. CARA, *Sulla genuinità delli idoli Sardo fenici*, etc., *Cagliari*, 1876, with 16 Plates. We made little use of this bulky volume, save to trace the history of some statuettes, because of the utter lack of acumen in the author, who does not distinguish spurious from genuine figures. His descriptions of antique bronzes are valuable; he is more concerned, however, with modern productions.

[2] See note, Chapter I. p. 9, of this volume.

and two swords whose points are broken; rude "cacles" are kept in place by hook and ball, displaying the ankles and sandalled feet. The next carries a whole panoply, consisting of shields and short javelins arranged fan-like fashion, besides a broad dagger which juts between the two shields. The head-dress of the first figure is adorned with three horns, and with one only in the other. The multiplicity of visual organs, limbs, and weapons, which could not belong to or be handled by one man at the same time, make it clear that the intention of the simple and unskilful artist was to portray supernatural beings and not common types of humanity. All nations had recourse, more or less, to this early mode of procedure in their endeavours to express their idea of the power of their deities. Thus we find among the Greeks themselves a three-bodied Geryon, an Argus whose hundred eyes are ever open. Although we have no data respecting the religion of the Sardi, we may, without rashness, hazard the opinion that this figure was intended to represent a barbarous Mars, whose keen glance and well-equipped, far-reaching arm marked him for

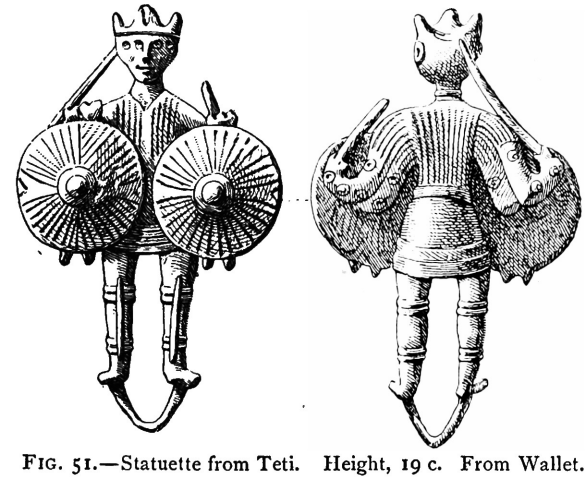


FIG. 51.—Statuette from Teti. Height, 19 c. From Wallet.

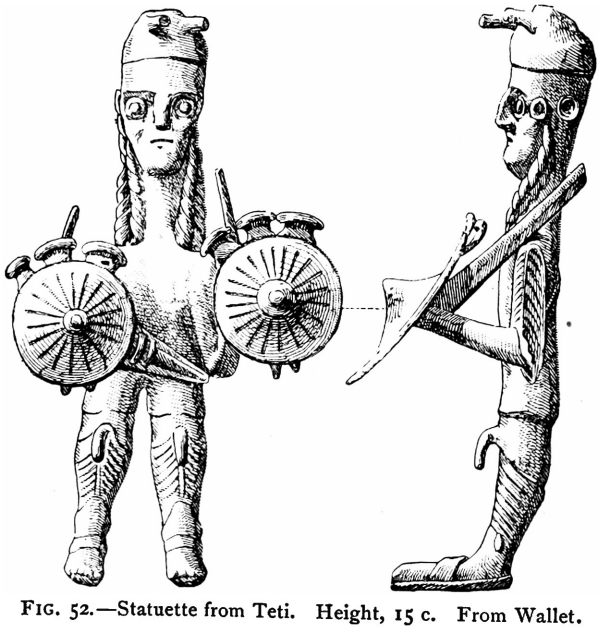


FIG. 52.—Statuette from Teti. Height, 15 c. From Wallet.

superior sagacity and valour. Statuettes of this kind are few,[1] the vast majority is but a faithful rendering of everyday people such as the artist beheld around him and which he essayed to portray, be it as warriors, hunters, priests, or domestic characters. Soldiers, whether swordsmen or archers, form the richest and far away most interesting group of the whole series. Among the former may be noted Fig. 53,[2] carrying a short, broad sword; in Fig. 54, however, often

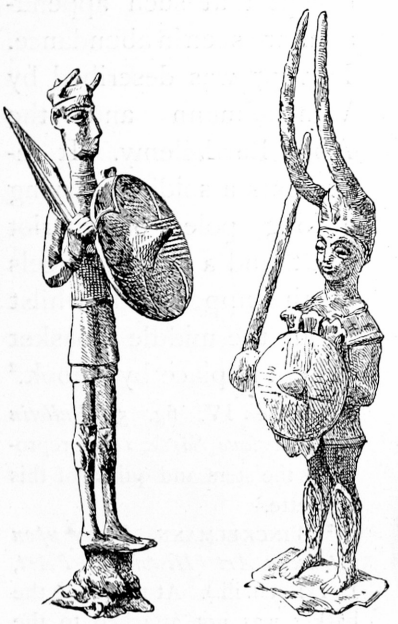


FIG. 53.—Statuette from Uta. Height, 22 c. Cagliari Museum. From Wallet.

FIG. 54.—Statuette from Senorbi. Cagliari Museum.

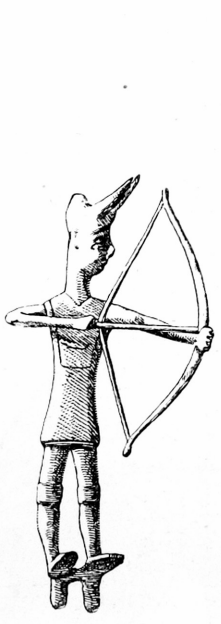


FIG. 55.—Statuette from Teti. Height, 22 c. Cagliari Museum. From Wallet.



FIG. 56.—Statuette from Teti. Height, 28 c. Cagliari Museum. From Wallet.

mentioned by Pais as the "Senorbi warrior," a very long, narrow one is displayed. In the latter class, numerically much stronger, an archer is seen bending his bow about to shoot (Fig. 55); he is straightening it in the next (Fig. 56), a long, bearded rod appearing

[1] Statuettes of this class, as against the more common, bear the proportion of one-fifth or one-sixth in the whole number that have been dug up.

[2] This figure, one of the best specimens in the Sardinian art-cycle, was recovered, in 1849, at Monte Arcuasu, parish of Uta, seventeen or eighteen kilometres north-west of Cagliari, under a huge stone, with other eight and an equal number of long swords, the point of one of which terminates in a bull's head. This "find" is rendered the more interesting from the fact that it took place some miles only from a Phœnician centre. See, too, Spano's letter addressed to La Marmora, describing these various objects, and reproduced as an Appendix to *Bul. Arch. Sard.*, 3me. année, 1857, entitled, *Antico Larario Sardo di Uta.* The whole series of the Uta statuettes may be seen in CARA's book, *Relazione sulli idoli*, etc., Pt. I., taken from Spano's work.

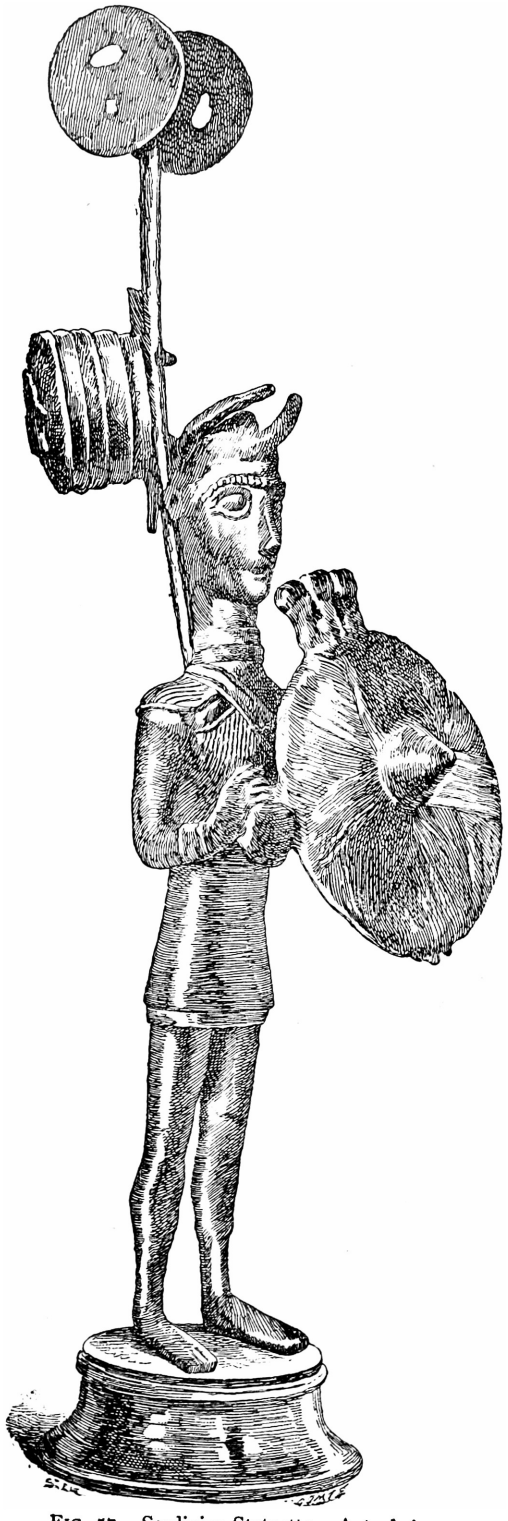


FIG. 57.—Sardinian Statuette. Actual size.

to emerge from his quiver.[1] Is this an elongated arrow to denote the profession and, perhaps, the great proficiency of the owner, or a palm, emblem of victory? We cannot say, except that such appendages are seen in abundance. Fig. 57 was described by Winckelmann and the Abbé Barthélemy. It represents a soldier carrying a long pole, or chariot shaft, and a pair of wheels at the upper end, whilst about the middle a basket is kept in place by a hook.[2]

[1] Plate IV. fig. 5, *Bulletin Archéologique Sarde*, 1884, reproduces the stem and quiver of this statuette.

[2] WINCKELMANN, *Essay upon Etruscan Art* (*Histoire de l'Art*, I., III., ch. iii.). At that time the basket was not attached to the shaft but was carried on the head. This detail called forth the ingenious rather than probable supposition, that when on the line of march the native soldier had with him a wheel-basket or chariot containing his provisions. When the basket was full he wheeled it before him, when empty he took it to pieces and carried it about his head and back. Needless to note that such an arrangement was not practical. BARTHÉLEMY, in his *Memoirs upon the Ancient Monuments of Rome*, Pt. I. t. 28, has given a front and back view of the statuette, which M. Robou has described afresh. From his photograph M. St. Elme Gautier made the drawing of our plate.

our woodcut by a statuette (Fig. 61),[1] acquired in the second half of last century for the Royal Cabinet. This figure has no weapon beyond a dagger against his breast, held in place by a broad crossbelt. A low cap is upon his head, whilst a square bag or pouch, hooked on to a club, is swung over his back. The result

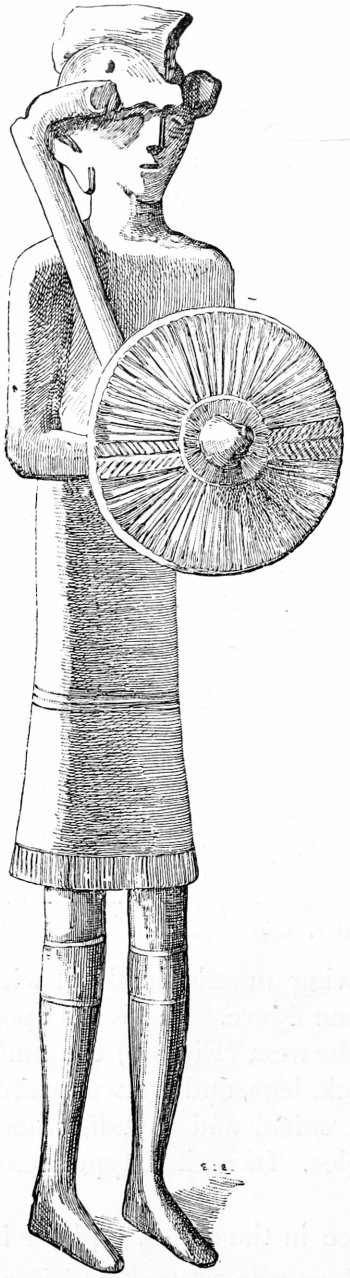


FIG. 60.—Statuette. Height, 18 c. National Library. From St. Elme Gautier.



FIG. 61.—Sardinian Bronze. Actual size. National Library. From St. Elme Gautier.

[1] Could doubt be entertained as to the Sardinian origin of this and the following figures, it would give way before the testimony of Caylus, who first published them. He formally states that they had been dug up a few years before in Sardinia and brought home by Barthélemy (*Récueil d'Antiquités*, t. iii. p. 100), a statement confirmed by the abbé himself (*Memoires sur les Monuments de Rome*, p. 595).

of his day's sport are two heads of game, which peep out of the said pouch. Caylus believed these animals to be rabbits, and his drawing recalls beyond what is legitimate the impression thus received.[1] The execution of this exemplar, however, is so rude throughout as to make the reading of it difficult in the extreme. But were we required to give an opinion, we should say that the unskilful artist aimed at representing volatiles.[2] Nor should the dress be passed over without notice; it consists of a short tunic reaching above the knee, over which is worn a thick, heavily bordered cape, perhaps the national "mastruca,"[3] made of sheep's skins. The fur was worn next to the body for warmth, as is practised by the native peasantry at the present day.

The absence of shoes on Sardinian statuettes affords matter for surprise; for it is difficult to understand how soldiers, hunters, and woodmen managed to get about stony roads and tangled brakes without covering to their feet. However that may be, the fact remains that, as a rule, native artists have dispensed with the article, and sandals or boots of any kind are exceedingly rare on bronzes. On the other hand, there is an abundance of leggings from ankle to knee, as in our Fig. 62.[4] The workmanship, however, is too rough and elementary to admit certainty as to the material used; whether metal, leather, or cord knotted and twisted together.



FIG. 62. — Statuette from Teti. Height, 15 c. From Pais.

In the same class, albeit differing in some of its details, is another statuette, due to the same source (the abbé), in the Paris cabinet. Here the cap (Fig. 61) has been replaced by a low helmet with a dentelled border and plume. A most singular detail is seen about the neck of the statuette. Is this a ponderous necktie or—in view of the bow carried on his left shoulder—a

[1] CAYLUS, *Récueil d'Antiquités*, tom. iii. pp. 103, 104, Plate XXVII. fig. 2.

[2] In order to form a correct estimate, compare our engraving with that published by the *Gazette Archéologique* of this monument, 1885, Plate XXIV.

[3] Mastrucas have been extensively illustrated by Forcellini and others, whilst Livy calls certain native tribes of the interior "Sardi pelliti" (xxiii. 40).

[4] PAIS, *Bollettino*, p. 91, Plate IV. fig. 1, 1884.

long piece of cord to provide against accidents to bow or sling, of no rare occurrence on the mountain side? A small box or pouch depending from a long double strap, reaching on either side to his waist, is carried in front, which we may imagine filled with desiccated clay or flint balls. Behind is another object which it is

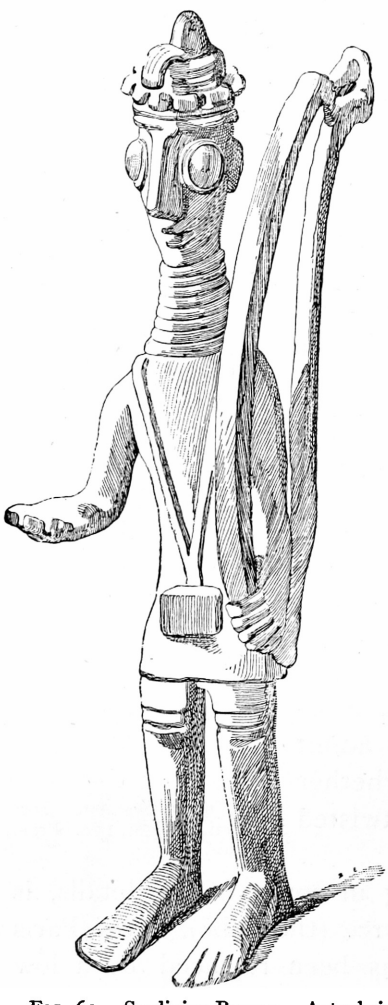


Fig. 63.—Sardinian Bronze. Actual size. National Library. From St. Elme Gautier.

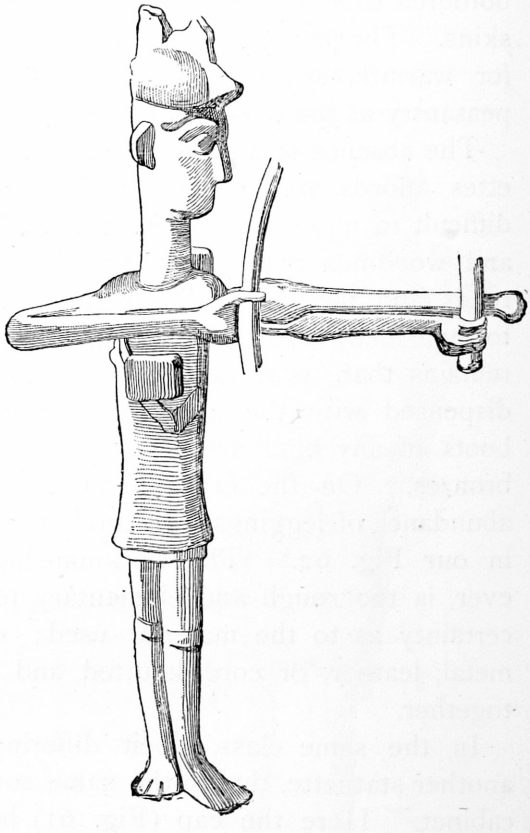


Fig. 64.—Sardinian Bronze. Actual size. Coin Division. From St. Elme Gautier.

difficult to determine from its rude aspect, but which may be the sling under notice.[1] A similar bag, but carried higher, is seen too on a statuette in the Paris coin department. Although not mentioned by Caylus, it was doubtless purchased along with the

[1] This statuette was described and drawn by Caylus, tom. iii. Plate XXVII. fig. 2.

two we have just described. It represents an archer bending his bow, now reduced to a mere fragment, whose arrow is of unusual size. He wears the short familiar tunic of most statuettes.

Fig. 65 is given for the sake of its peculiar head-dress (consisting of a tall woollen cap, brown or red in colour, closely resembling that of fishermen in the Mediterranean and our northern seas), which is frequently seen on La Marmora's statuettes. What seems characteristic of Sardinia, and which is never witnessed about our sailors, are two long plaits, one behind each ear, reaching to the middle. It is formally stated that in the remote parts of the island the peasantry even now go about with similar appendages.[2] In the olden days the custom of short or long hair existed side by side, and may have been peculiar to some tribes of the interior,[3] as may almost be implied from the Teti statuette (Fig. 66) exhibiting a still longer set of plaits. The head is bare, allowing the middle parting of the hair, which runs from nape to forehead, to be seen. His hands are raised; in his left was carried some object, perhaps a bow, now disappeared, whilst his right is unusually large. Parting the hair seems to have been a prevailing fashion, for we meet with it on figures without plaits.[4] Beards were unknown, or at least rare, since traces have been found on two statuettes only; a similar reservation equally applies to

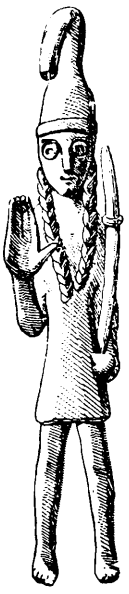


FIG. 65.—Statuette from Teti. Height, 12 c. Gouin's collection. From Wallet.

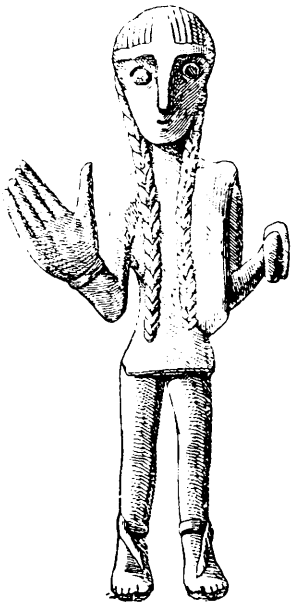


FIG. 66.—Statuette from Teti. Height, 11 c. Gouin's collection. From Wallet.

[1] LA MARMORA, *Atlas*, I. Plates I.–VI.

[2] LA MARMORA, *Atlas*, I. Plate III., and *Voyage*, i. p. 225. "City and most country people shave their faces and have their hair in long plaits."

[3] This fashion of long plaits was not confined to Sardinia; in the Italian peninsula, only a few years back, mountaineers were to be seen on market days with two, sometimes three such tails.—TRANSLATOR.

[4] About hair-dressing, consult PAIS, *Bolletino*, p. 87, 1884.

bronzes.[1] This absence of beard invests the faces with a uniform look which gives them an air of being closely related to one another, whilst the reverse is observable in head-dresses remarkable for their endless variety. Thus, for instance, two horned helmets with plain border (Figs. 5 and 54) are met here and there; now they are plumed and dentelled (Figs. 58–62); sometimes they are conical caps, bringing to remembrance a certain class of Cypriote figures; or again (Fig. 67) akin to the Etruscan "tutulus." In this statuette the arms are wide apart, as though to display the amplitude of his mantle, whilst a patera is held in his left hand. Almost the same attitude is seen in the next statuette (Fig. 68),[2] far more injured, whose left hand is broken, but whose patera was deeper and altogether on a larger pattern. The long tails, but more especially the mushroom-shaped hat of this figure, recalls the extreme East, and should not pass unnoticed.



FIG. 67.—Statuette unearthed at Baunei, near Lanussi. Cagliari Museum. From Wallet.



FIG. 68.—Statuette from Teti. Height, 11 c. From Wallet.

Female figures are extremely rare. Among the multitudinous specimens recovered at Abini, near Teti, one only was a woman.[3] The dress so closely resembles that worn by the women in the interior of the island, that doubt as to its authenticity might be raised, had it not been dug up by M. Gouin's workmen in the presence of a trusty overseer. It consists of a tight-fitting body reaching below the hips, where it is taken up by a plaited petticoat ending above the ankle. A round hooded cape completes the costume.[4] It is certainly a curious fact that in statuettes—over fifty in number figuring Sardi soldiers—a sole mounted

[1] PAIS, *Bollettino*, p. 84–86, 1884.

[2] *History of Art*, tom. iii. Plate II. The same cap is seen on a small figure recovered at Dogali on the east coast, and figured in LA MARMORA'S *Atlas*, Plate XXVII. fig. 100.

[3] LA MARMORA, *Atlas*, Fig. 124, exhibiting a hooded figure.

[4] LA MARMORA, *Voyage*, tom. i. p. 234, and *Atlas*, Plate III. fig. 2 (Des Femmes).

archer, of doubtful origin, should have been found.[1] Nor has anything relative to horses been recovered at Teti or elsewhere, if we except two fragmentary bits in bronze, including one in iron, and a frontal necessarily posterior to bronze implements.[2] On the other hand, the ox is often portrayed; as, for instance, in the two statuettes figuring a man riding a bullock, held by a leading-string passed round one of the ears—a custom that may still be seen in the remote districts of the island, as well as in the Italian peninsula. It may be inferred, therefore, that Sardinia had foot soldiers but no infantry; that these monuments were anterior to the introduction in the island of those small, hardy ponies which do such excellent service; whether for riding or beasts of burden, oxen were made to fulfil both offices.[3]

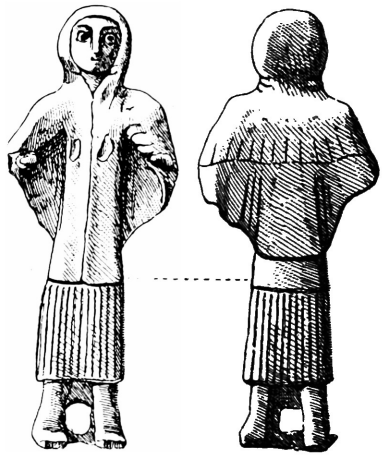


FIG. 69.—Female Statuette, recovered at Teti. Height, 9 c. Gouin's collection. From Wallet.

In our map we have been careful to indicate the places around which the more important excavations have been made; whilst mention that bronzes have been recovered in nearly every part of the country except Gallura, may find here its proper place. The east and west coast, but in an eminent degree the central plateau, whose more gentle slopes are found east and west overlooking the rich Campidano level, have yielded a wealth of monuments unsurpassed anywhere in number and interest. This, too, without the superintendence of "savants" or educated individuals, when the "finds" are carefully noted down, and each incident attending their disinterment minutely described.

If the truth must be admitted, no regular or systematic explorations have been practised in the Phœnician necropoles of the seaboard, nor yet about núraghs and tombs in the interior where they abound.[4] Nevertheless, from the testimony of the finders themselves, as to the manner of the recovery of these monuments,

[1] SPANO, *Bollettino Arch. Sardo*, vii. p. 16, Plate I., 1861.

[2] PAIS, *Bollettino*, pp. 25, 117, 1884. [3] *Ibid.* p. 26, 1884.

[4] We make an exception in favour of M. Elena's excavations, whose only drawback is that they were confined to a few tombs.

and the position they occupied in their hiding-places, the whole series was classified into groups, and these enable us to form some idea of the inner life and degree of civilization to which these aborigines had attained.[1]

About ten kilometres north of Teti, indicated in our map (Fig. 2), are the ruins of "Abini," a name rendered famous by the archæological monuments that were dug up here on various occasions. It is reached by a narrow gorge, exhibiting traces of fortifications, called "sa bidda de sa domo," "the city of the house;" followed by a kind of natural tunnel through the rock which opens out upon a plateau, surrounded by a lofty range of sombre-looking mountains. This part is traversed by the Toloro, a channel to the right of the Tarsos. Somewhere about here stood the village of Abini, now abandoned. Close to it are ruins known as "sa bidda de sa badde," "the city of the watch" (Fig. 29), together with the remains of what are supposed to have been an important núragh, where a whole treasure of antiquities were uncovered. This pile consists of a central tower, entirely destroyed, flanked by four smaller, a low wall intervening between them and the main edifice (Fig. 29, 1). Other ruins, perhaps small núraghs or houses, are stated to be distributed around the more massive structure (Fig. 29, 2); accidentally discovered under the following circumstances.

In 1865 some Teti bricklayers, whilst clearing away the luxuriant overgrowth of oak and olive trees preparatory to laying the foundations of a house, came upon a stone trough at the depth of a metre from the surface, containing bronze figures and weapons, now in the Cagliari museum.

In 1878 the rustics, prompted, doubtless, by the hope of gain, proceeded to a second excavation, directed this time more systematically and on a larger scale; when they not only cleared away the enormous growth of ten years, but set about felling trees of large girth, together with the roots binding the ground, and

[1] We can only express our keen regret that M. PAIS's publication, from which our information respecting these documents is chiefly taken, and which, far better than the *Notizie delli Scavi*, would have kept scholars up to date respecting the explorations that are taking place, including reference to the most notable monuments in the public and private collections of the island, should have been discontinued for want of a little encouragement from learned European Societies. PAIS, *Bollettino Arch. Sardo*, 1884, paper entitled, *Il ripostiglio di bronzi di Abini presso Teti*, pp. 67–179.

dug under them. The result was a harvest even more abundant than the preceding. On the first intimation at headquarters of the peasants' proceedings, Professor Vivanet, Royal Commissary of Antiquities, had himself conveyed to the field of action, where he was in time to secure for the Cagliari museum the bulk of the more important finds.

In the expectation of further discoveries, M. Gouin, in 1882, bought some land adjoining the large núragh, but was unluckily unable to carry on the excavations himself, entrusting them to a

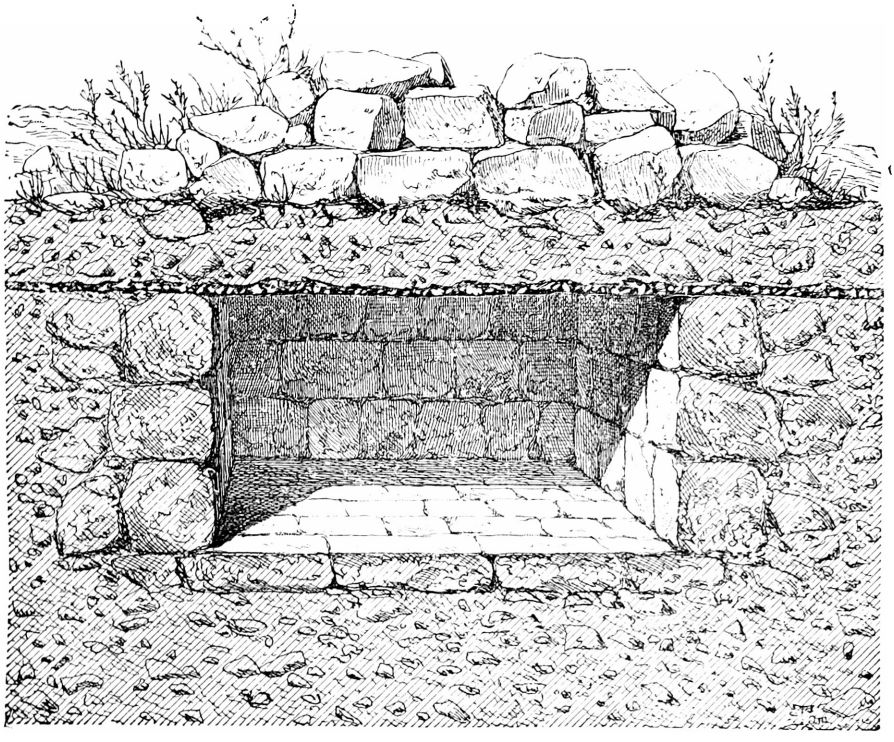


FIG. 70.—The Teti Repository. From M. Gouin.

man who was incompetent to furnish a full and satisfactory account of his labours.[1] At a place called "Inter-Rogas," "among rocks," some 20 metres from the site explored by the rustics, a narrow plateau about 25 metres by 5 metres was attacked. Here traces of buildings, probably the ground floor of former huts, were uncovered, and a whole collection of weapons, figures, pottery, and chips of kitchen utensils. At first the trenches sunk in the large núragh had produced very little; but after the place had

[1] Owing to a printer's mistake, the report bears the name of M. Rissardi.

been cleared of accumulated earth and rubbish, the workmen came upon a rude pavement, which has excited much controversy as to whether it belonged to an open chamber, or was not rather a paved court enclosed by the wall shown in our ground plan (Fig. 29, 1). Did a núragh really exist here, or was it merely an open sanctuary, surrounded by a rampart fortified at the four angles? Such are the questions which naturally arise, but which, from lack of positive data, we are unable to answer. All we know is due to and rests upon M. Gouin's statement, that part of the objects disinterred in 1878 were found in a recess or hiding place (Fig. 29, 1A), of which he made a sketch (Fig. 70). Underneath massive blocks, the remains of the destroyed edifice, was a layer of clay about 0·70 c. thick, followed by a thinner layer of dark, blistered scoriæ, of a siliceous nature, which looked as though fused into a composite mass *in situ*. Below the scoriæ was a ditch with pavement and side walls. Other cavities of the same

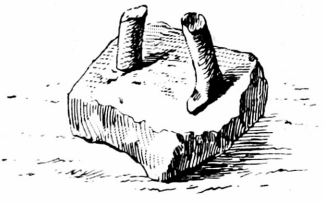


FIG. 71.—Lingots of lead. From Baux.

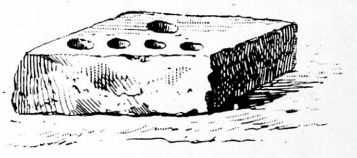


FIG. 72.—Stone which had served as pedestal. From Baux.

description, containing similar objects, are reported to exist (M. Gouin); but the ground about them has been so disturbed as to make the exact site where they are situated impossible of recognition. We should much like to be informed as to whether such cavities or ditches were symmetrically distributed at the four angles of the structure.

However that may be, there is no doubt as to the figures having all been set on blocks of trachyte; a stone not found in the neighbourhood, and which was brought from the volcanic regions. Instead of sawing off the jets of casting found on the piece when first removed from the mould, as generally practised nowadays, they had left them undisturbed and actually used them for fixing the figures on to the plinths, either by running the jets into ingots of melted lead, or fitting them on to the stone previously hollowed out (Figs. 71, 72). This may be seen on all statuettes whose feet are intact; and equally applies to pieces, where this detail has not

been reproduced in the engraving. The statuettes, as stated, were found in the hiding-place; whilst the sockets lay scattered about the ruinous heap. Of these many have been turned, by the peasantry, into hand-mills for grinding corn. Besides figures, swords and other weapons were also discovered mounted on stone blocks, their hilts or fragments still adhering to the lead with which they had been secured; reference to our illustrations (Figs. 73, 74, and 75) will enable the reader to form a fair idea of the method em-



FIG. 75.—Lingot and portion of sword. From Baux.

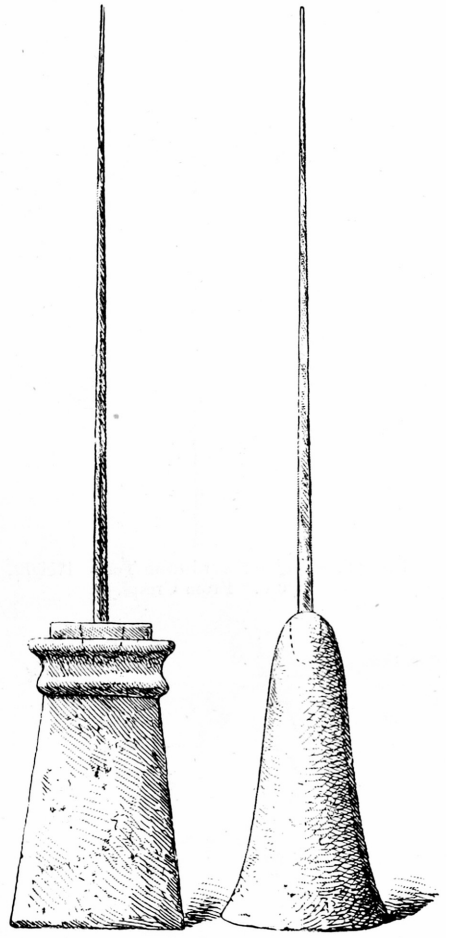


FIG. 73.—Pedestal and Sword restored. Height of stone, 40 c. From Crespi, *Boll.*, 1884, Plate III., fig. 3.

FIG. 74.—Sword and Pedestal restored. From Baux.

ployed and of the general aspect obtained. Figure 73, to the left, has been lost or destroyed; and is only known from a drawing taken when first recovered in 1878, but numerous exemplars exist of Fig. 74, whose shape is like an elongated, narrow bell. The dots towards the upper end, indicate the cavity in which the fused lead was poured, for securing the handle. The swords, tied into fasciæ with narrow strips of red leather, were scattered about in the *débris* and hiding-places, and over one hundred were in good preservation, except that the hilts were either twisted or broken.

We know of no swords, thus mounted, having been brought to

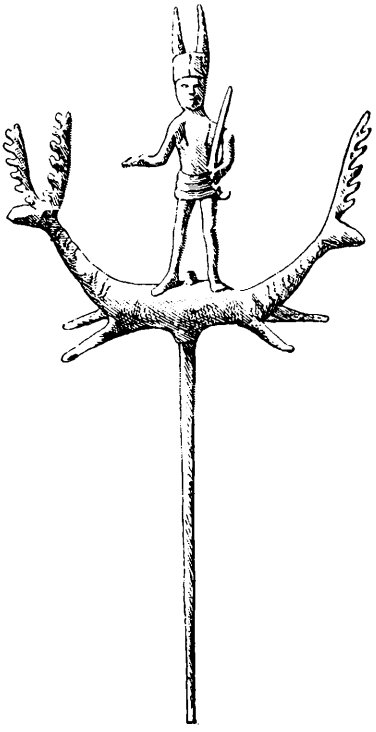


FIG. 76. – Votive Sword from Teti. Height, 30 c. From Crespi.

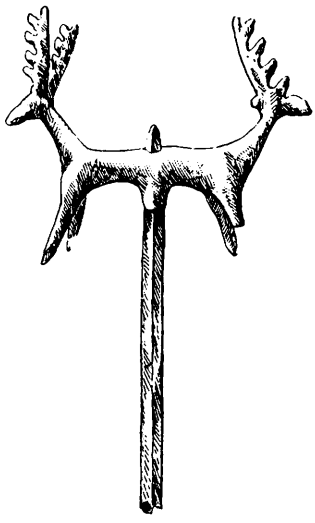


FIG. 78.—Votive Sword from Teti. Height, 24 c. From Crespi.

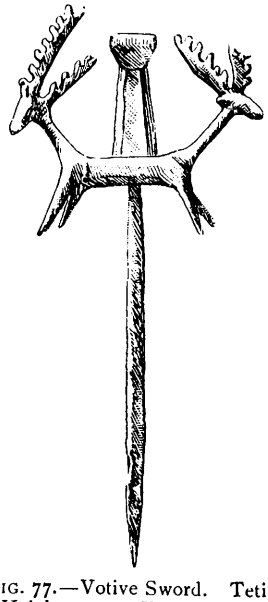


FIG. 77.—Votive Sword. Teti. Height, 24 c. From Crespi.

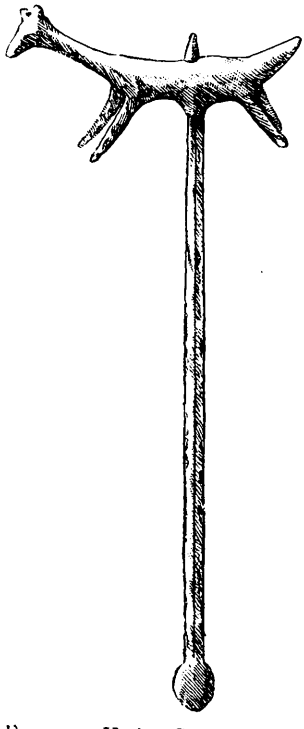


FIG. 79.—Votive Sword. Teti. Height, 27 c.

light anywhere else; nor of accessories such as we see in these strange monuments, the points or handles of which are set indifferently uppermost. Thus in Fig. 76, the fore quarters of two stags are joined together into one body; a diminutive figure rising in the centre, whose short tunic, long sword, and notably the two-horned helmet, proclaim him a native warrior; whilst the space occupied by the soldier is taken up by an altar in Fig. 77. On the other hand, Fig. 78 shows but the sword's point projected between the two sets of antlers; and again the accessories are still more simplified at Fig. 79. As far as rude fabrication will enable us to guess, the animal thus fixed upon this tall weapon was a bull. Sculptured animal forms, and more generally bulls, are associated with the objects seen in Figs. 80 and 81, of which the nature is not easy to determine. At the outset, and had they shown traces of holes and hooks for running in the pin and fixing it, they might have been taken for fibulæ; but a similar idea must be abandoned in favour of handles for vases or other recipients; the bodies being lighter and of a less resisting material, were destroyed by oxidation.

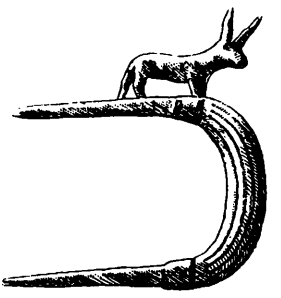


FIG. 80.—Bronze Handle. Length, 12 c. From Crespi.

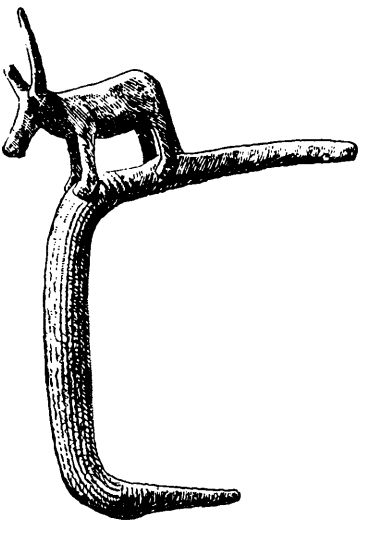


FIG. 81.—Bronze Handle. From Crespi.

Small bronze boats, such as Figs. 82, 83, and 84,[1] were few in number, and broken into fragments in the Teti repository; whereas many points of the island have yielded specimens in perfect condition, occupying no inconsiderable place, in the otherwise rich Cagliari collection. They were supposed to have been lamps, about

[1] These monuments have been described and the more curious figured by M. CRESPI, in a paper entitled: *Le Navicelle votive in bronzo del R. museo di antichità di Cagliari* (*Boll.* p. 11–20, Plates I. II. 1884). See also PAIS'S *Le Navicelle votive in bronzo della Sardegna* (pp. 21–31, 32), where all the specimens existing in Sardinian collections, including variants, are catalogued and illustrated, as well as fragments yielded by the Teti repository (p. 115 of *Boll.*, Plate IV. figs. 6 and 7).

which the inventive faculty of the artificer had shown itself in diversity of forms; an hypothesis easily refuted by observation

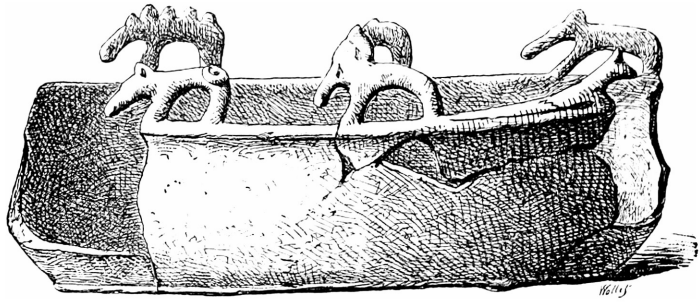


FIG. 82.—Votive Boat. Cagliari Museum. Length, 13 c. Pais, *La Sardegna*, Plate VI., fig. 3.

of the most casual kind; for scores of these lamps have nothing which recalls in the remotest degree a lamp-burner, through which

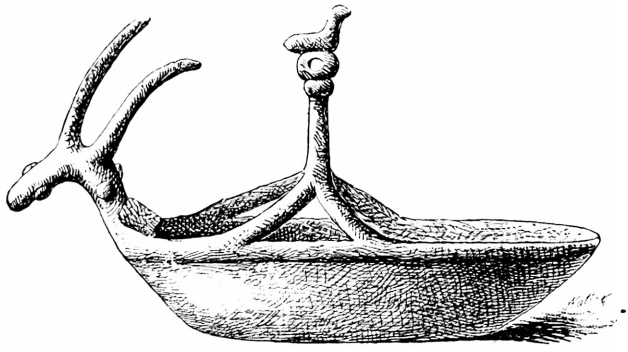


FIG. 83.—Votive Boat. Cagliari Museum. Length, 15 c. Pais, *La Sardegna*, Plate VI., fig. 2.

the wick could be passed. On the other hand, as they were sometimes perforated the liquid would have run out; and as all found intact were, moreover, furnished with rings or hoops, it is clear that they were meant for suspension.

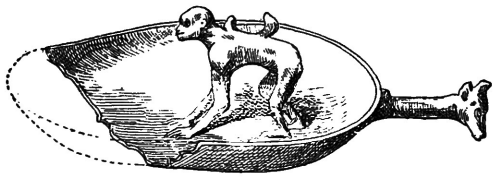


FIG. 84.—Votive Boat. Height, 9 c. *Boll.*, 1884, Plate I., fig. 8.

A certain amount of variety is displayed in the shape of these boats: thus, for instance, Fig. 82 is possessed of neither stern nor bow; variety being obtained in half a dozen figures of exceedingly rude make, wherein we must fain recognize animals of the porcine species. On one side is seen a thin, elongated, four-legged creature; vaguely recalling a lizard. Prows of greater or less

salience terminating in a stag's head, and birds set upon the top of a tall central pole, as in Fig. 83, are not uncommon. Here and there too another variety, a bull's head device, with a figure walking on all fours at the bottom of the boat, is met with—but so roughly modelled as to induce doubt whether an animal or a human form was intended. The presumption, however, militates in favour of the latter; for in some bronzes in the Cagliari museum, wherein the drapery clearly indicates that we have to deal with a

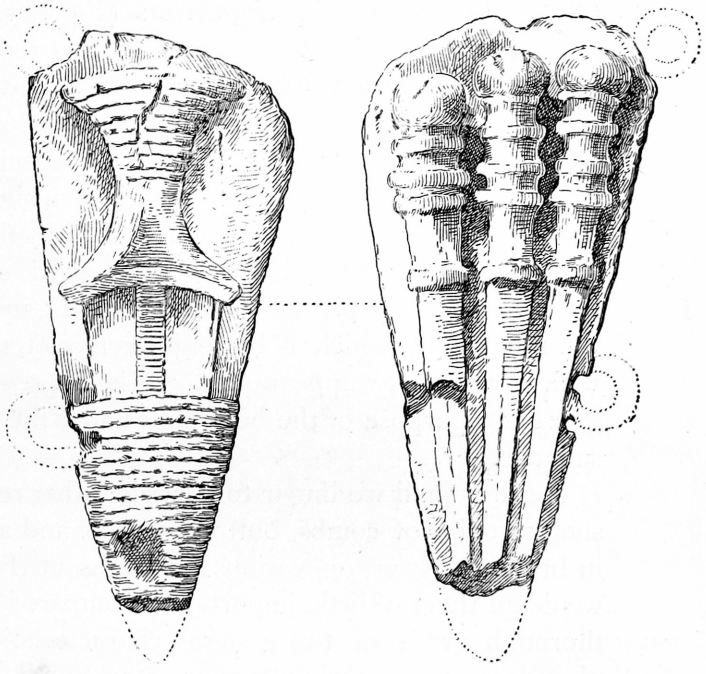


FIG. 85.—Votive Dagger. Actual size. From Crespi.

human figure, the head, owing to the artist's unskilfulness, exhibits a simian-like aspect.[1]

To enumerate in detail all the objects of this series, such as horses' bits,[2] daggers, styles, etc.,[3] would carry us beyond our scope; we will confine ourselves, therefore, to a noteworthy type of which numerous exemplars have been brought to light in various portions of the island (Fig. 85).[4] It consists of a triangular metal plaque,

[1] CRISPI, *Le Navicelle*, Plate II. fig. *a*. [2] *Ibid.*, *Boll.*, p. 116, Plate IV. fig. 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, Plate V.
[4] A careful catalogue of the various pieces found in the Sardinian collections has been made by M. Pais, as well as drawings of the variants yielded by the series.

exhibiting two huge rings at the side, and a dagger sheathed to the hilt on one of the faces; three clamps, still visible, indicate that the blade was riveted to an ivory or wood handle. On the lower face three styles of the same length as the dagger were carved; but the sheath was replaced by longitudinal rows of uncouth, irregular rings through which the stilettos were slipped, kept in place, and prevented from running through by the knobbed upper end. It is self-evident that such weapons were not meant for use; they are not arms in the strict sense of the word, but imitations of those carried on the breasts of Sardi warriors (Figs. 52, 62). Real daggers and stilettos have been recovered in this repository and elsewhere, exhibiting the same forms as these;[1] and differing *toto cœlo*, from those of a purely fanciful nature, wherein practical use was not contemplated; such would be Fig. 86, a specimen of the long-hilted, diminutive daggers, furnished with a hoop for suspension, closely resembling those of statuettes (Figs. 59 and 61). The guard, straight on one side, is deeply curved on the other, investing the monument, which is but eight centimeters long, with a cross-like appearance. It is impossible to guess the purpose of the hoop seen under the curved salience.

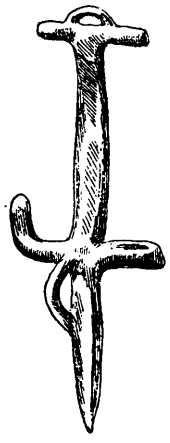


FIG. 86. — Votive Dagger. *Boll.*, 1884. Plate V., fig. 8.

Neither shall we linger to describe other remains, such as chips of combs, buttons, fibulæ, and armlets in bronze, dug up on various occasions at Teti, for we deem them of little importance, compared with a thorough grasp of the general characteristics displayed in the figures, weapons, etc., found in this repository.[2] Contrary to some who supposed them fragments of a foundry, as that at Forraxi-Noi,we incline to the belief that the Teti hiding-place was a sanctuary, selected by the central tribes for its secluded and strong position which could be easily defended, where the natives, during the lapse of centuries, were wont to bring their propitiatory offerings for benefits received in the past, or for others they hoped for in the future. We maintain that such an hypothesis, better than any hitherto proposed, coincides with the facts before us.

The enormous quantity of pig metal discovered at Forraxi, in

[1] *Bollettino*, Plate V. figs. 4, 5, 9, and 10.
[2] *Ibid.* Plate VI.

the commune of Núraghus, close to ancient Valentia,[1] leaves no doubt upon its having been a workshop.[2] This supposition was confirmed, moreover, by the state in which bronzes in a huge, shallow earthen vase, 0 m. 70 c., were found; numbering swords broken in several pieces, weapons, implements, boats, handles, fibulæ, etc., showing traces more or less of having seen service; being in fact, old metal articles, sent there to be melted down again. On the other hand, sockets, so plentiful in the Teti repository, are unknown at Forraxi. This fact in itself is sufficient to prove that the Teti figures had a votive character analogous to that of the statues exhumed on the site of Phœnician and Cypriote sanctuaries. Moreover, pedestals with statuettes still attached have been encountered on other points of Sardinia, but whenever separated they were invariably discovered in the immediate neighbourhood.[3] It is probable that most of these statuettes were set upon sockets with the double purpose of preserving them against damp arising from the floor, and of their being easily seen by all. They form two distinct classes: the first comprises the so-called idols; whilst the other, far away the most numerous, exhibits ordinary mortals; to this the small clay figures of the same series seem naturally to belong, save that their exceedingly archaic character and rough manipulation forbid details of dress, and even the attitude to be clearly seen or defined.[4] This is not applicable to bronzes, for although crude, the metal admitted of greater sharpness of outline, resulting in clearness of aspect. Almost all the statuettes show one hand, the right, as a rule, uplifted in sign of

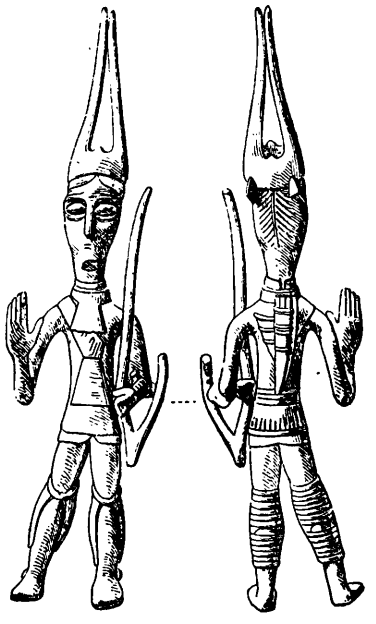


FIG. 87.—Statuette from Teti. Height, 19 c. Cagliari Museum. From Wallet.

[1] See Nissardi's Report, in *Notizie delli scavi*, 1882, pp. 308–311, Plates XVII., XVIII.

[2] The name *Forraxi, fornax*, "kiln," sufficiently determines its purpose.

[3] Some, for instance, were picked up at *Uta* and *Lanusei* (SPANO, *Antico Larario Sardo di Uta, Boll.*, p. 187, 1857).

[4] *Bollettino*, p. 146, Plate VII. figs. 1, 2, 1884.

adoration (Fig. 87);[1] it was a conventional gesture common to all ancient peoples, whether Egyptians, Assyrians, or early Christians, for we meet with it in the Roman Catacombs.

It will be remembered, on the other hand, that among the Phœnicians, the sole people with whom the Sardi had continuous intercourse, this sign was so universally employed as to render its symbolic meaning self-evident to the unlettered. Among the stelæ in our possession dedicated to Tanit, numbering several thousands, hundreds are seen with hand outstretched and uplifted, the stelæ bearing no inscriptions save this betokening sign of prayer. Such an emblem was familiar to the Sardi, who could not have failed noticing it on every Phœnician tomb and sanctuary in the island. What more natural, therefore, that its usage should have been introduced in remote hilly regions?[2] Or that the artist should have given prominence to the right hand, the better to convey the idea it symbolized? It is a childish expedient observable in all primitive art, where we see the more important personages, such as kings, heroes, and gods, given higher statures than the surrounding figures.

[1] M. Pais has met with only four figures whose *left* hand is raised. *Loc. sit.*, p. 100.

[2] MM. Baux and Gouin explain differently this hand gesture; according to them, "the chief characteristic of the Teti figures, is peace and tranquillity. The arm, as a rule, is carried at ease, the attitude quiescent, the palm of the right hand stretched towards the spectator; to remove all doubt, moreover, upon the peaceful meaning of this sign, the artist was careful to make the right hand disproportionately large. Some warrior statuettes have yet another detail from which the intention of their creator may be gleaned; namely, in the abnormal size and multiplicity of the visual organs, four, five, and even six eyes looking out of the same figure. These criteria enable us to conclude that Teti was not a sanctuary, and were we required to find a formula descriptive of these statuettes, it would be: "Watchfulness and armed peace;" agreeably with the appellative: "The city of the watch." We regret that we are unable to share the opinion of observers known for their devotion to Sardinian antiquities. Granting their argument to be sound, how is the presence of so many objects in one spot to be accounted for, save upon a principle of religiosity? These are concrete ideas unknown to art in its infancy; the formula is too complicated, implying a double meaning and subtle antithesis; as who should say: "I wish for peace but am ready for war." What more simple than to recognize in the raised hand the bearing it possesses, without exception, among the nations of antiquity? If a weapon is carried in the other arm, is that so wonderful? Until recently the field labourer was wont to work with his blunderbuss by his side. Why should he have laid aside lance or javelin because he presented himself before his gods? Another error, at least it appears so to us, is not having differentiated icons from idols; the former are images of ordinary humanity; in the latter, although possessed of arms and eyes larger and in number greater than reality, the hand is never raised (Figs. 51 and 52).

What tends still more to confirm our view, are the accessories about these figures, recalling the idea of sacrifice. Thus a patera or shallow bowl, used for libations, is exhibited in Figs. 67 and 68; whilst in Fig. 88 a devotee, or priest, carries the sacrificial lamb or ram. These criophores are not unfrequent in Phœnicia or Cyprus; but, no matter where encountered, their significance is always the same. Similarly may be explained the votive objects under notice. Deer peopled then the neighbouring hills, even as they do now, where the natives stalked and shot them for their own use, or as grateful offerings to the deity, as in Fig. 76, where the two deers' heads back to back, between which stands the donor, are certainly intended to convey the impression that a brace, and not one victim only, was offered; the altar occupying the same position in Fig. 77, recalls yet more distinctly the idea of a religious ceremony. The devotees, from long usage, were all familiar with the rites performed in the sanctuary; hence, here and there, they were satisfied with the roughly suggestive indications of Figs. 78 and 79.

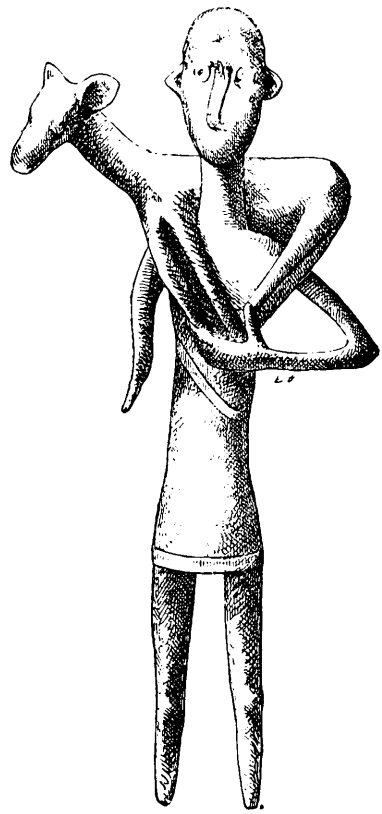


FIG. 88.—Criophore Figurine. Height, 15 c. Pais, *La Sardegna*, Plate V., fig. 6.

This applies to the animal forms, such as deer and oxen, excavated at Teti and elsewhere, but especially a small bronze, figuring a wild sheep, with long circular horns twisted about his head, such as exist in the hilly regions of Corsica and Sardinia at the present day. (See last page of this chapter.) The same prevailing idea induced soldiers, after a successful affray, to lay before the altars of their gods the swords that had done them such good service in sharp contests;[1] whilst the boats are clearly ex-votos,

[1] These swords, as those of the Scythians (*Herod.*, iv. 62), might be supposed to represent the deity, but for the fact that they were tied into fasciæ, as though intended as an offering, the chief being soldered on to a socket, while those of the rank-and-file were presented in bundles. The Sardi, moreover, if roughly,

and appear to be placed here for the express purpose of making this treasure more easy of explanation. At first sight they might seem to be votive offerings presented by freebooters and mariners, expressive of their gratitude for nets replenished or rich spoils obtained. But the fact that the Sardi never seem to have taken kindly to the sea forbids the supposition, strengthened further by the central position of Teti, in one, if not its most hilly district, far removed from the sea.[1] The most plausible and, on the whole, probable explanation, is that put forth by Pais, from whom we quote: "A large proportion of the statuettes collected here and in other parts were due to native mercenaries serving in the Carthaginian armies; whilst the rest were effigies of priests, hunters, shepherds, and stay-at-home people generally. The soldiers' figures, however, reveal distinct traces of care having been bestowed upon their fabrication, and are the best, or the least crude of the series. This is easily explained on the assumption that the people who ordered them were the well-to-do of the tribe. To those mountaineers, the day when they had bidden adieu to their native homes in order to fight in Africa, Spain, or Italy, trusting themselves to the unstable element on Punic galleys, must have been the one great event of their lives. How natural, therefore, that on their return to their domestic firesides after their arduous campaigning, they should have believed to settle their accounts with their protecting gods, when they offered them the boats which had been instrumental in bringing them through the perils of the sea, and that conspicuous positions should have been given them in their places of worship. Viewed by this light, may not the skiff in which a man supports himself on his hands and feet (Fig. 84) have been placed there in remembrance of a tempestuous voyage, when everybody had to crouch at the bottom of the galley to prevent capsizing; whilst the row of quadrupeds distributed on the netting of the next ship (Fig. 82) would allude to the victims

knew how to fashion the human figure. Neither will the usage of barbarians, such as the Iberians, who stuck swords on their warriors' tombs, apply here (ARIST., in *Fragmenta Hist. Græcorum* of MULLER, 251, p. 180), because, as we have shown in another place, there is no evidence to favour the theory that Teti was a necropolis. On this question see PAIS, *Boll.*, p. 158–162, 1884.

[1] The only allusion to Sardi mariners is found in STRABO. According to his testimony, Sardi pirates, in his time, would land on the Etruscan coast, committing acts of rapine as far inland as Pisa (V. ii. 7). They may have been Corsi, who occupied the north of the island.

offered by the soldier of fortune on his safe return. We should be inclined to apply a similar reading to the deer and bull-headed devices seen on votive boats, did we not know that they were universally used among nations of antiquity.[1] Figure-heads on Egyptian and Assyrian vessels are more generally a swan, a horse, or lion; whilst deer and bulls' heads are unknown, save in Sardinia. But no matter the type selected by the builders, the intention of imparting to the vessel a semblance of life is apparent everywhere, be it a bull fighting his way through the flood or a swift-footed doe seeming to fly to its distant goal.

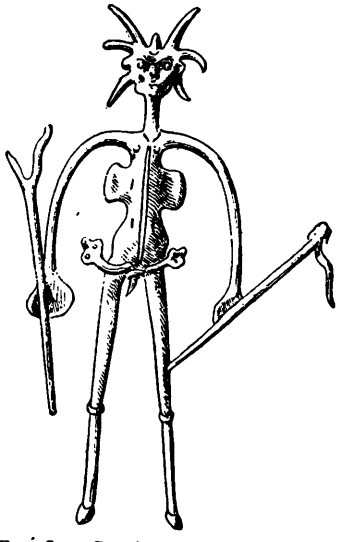


FIG. 89.—Spurious Bronze. La Marmora. *Atlas*, Plate XVIII., fig. 11.

To the question how to account for so many objects heaped together in repositories or strewn about the ground, we can offer no more solid answer than that Teti was a sanctuary, and that owing to some catastrophe, unknown to us, it had to be hastily abandoned. For it should be borne in mind that the hiding-places under notice have nothing in common with the Latin Tavissæ, wherein sacred objects were stowed away from lack of room in the general repository. The Teti weapons evince abundant traces of not having been carefully laid down here, but that, on the contrary, they were violently ripped off the sockets whereon they had been soldered. On the other hand, both weapons and figures look as though hastily thrown in the recesses made on the spur of the moment at the first sound of alarm given by the approaching perhaps scaling enemy, when the tribe was captured or massacred, the sacred treasures saved from the spoiler by the edifice being pulled down over them, where they have lain buried until to-day.

The examples of Sardinian sculpture which we have reproduced

[1] Nor has this custom ever ceased; witness the figure-heads on ships, small and great,—such as gods, heroes, tritons, mermaids, madonnas, saints, etc. Surely in remote times, as with the Italian and Greek sailor of our own days, the idea was intimately connected with that of protection and immunity from impending perils at sea. During a heavy gale a candle is frequently vowed or burnt to the Madonna or saint figuring at the prow.—EDITOR.

enable us to point out the criteria by which genuine, as against spurious, figures may be recognized. The former are undoubtedly rigid and harsh throughout; they sin against the canons of good taste, and violate the laws which govern art production, whether in the lack of all proportion or probability exhibited in their multitudinous goggle-eyes, huge, uplifted hands, or want of breadth and dryness of outlines, recalling German penny toys rather than human figures. Nevertheless, these are defects inherent to most primitive arts met with too in Phœnicia and Asia Minor,[1] where we had occasion, in another part of our work, to single out their chief characteristics. Allowance being made for slight differences, it may be broadly stated that Sardinian art objects are appreciably the same as those of other barbarous peoples, ancient and modern.

In spurious bronzes, on the other hand, the whimsicality and oddness characteristic of genuine pieces, are laboured and intentional; strange appendages figure about the head, such as deer antlers (Fig. 3), horns circling and radiating round the face (Fig. 89), snakes wreathing the cap or playing about the hands and limbs; clubs, pitchforks, and such-like meaningless accessories to widen the chests, or decorate the loins of the grinning and would-be human creatures. Every line, every stroke, being emphasized in vain attempt after effect, resulting in dire caricature.

We may seem to have laid too much stress upon base imitations, but for the fact that public and private collections contain even now a certain number of false Sardinian bronzes. Hence the need for pointing out the characteristics by which these fraudulent pieces may be distinguished; had we not done so, discredit might have redounded upon a whole series of monuments, which, albeit they can lay no claims to be considered as art efforts, are nevertheless valuable as documentary evidence for the historian.

§ 5.—*Weapons, Metal Work.*

Having given as brief an account of Sardinian bronzes as was compatible with lucidity; having noted the circumstances under which they were unearthed, together with the history the small figures seem to tell, interesting from the fact that they are faithful

[1] We did not reproduce the dagger alluded to in the text (Fig. 308), because its peculiarities and the position it occupies on the warrior's breast, incline us to rank it among Sardinian productions.

portraitures of the ancient Sardi, in so far at least as the artist was able to reproduce them, we will now slightly adumbrate the needs that contact with Phœnician culture had called forth in these tribes, and the manner they set about to satisfy them.

Of all industrial pursuits metal work seems to have been most in favour with these islanders, induced doubtless by the wealth and variety of minerals with which the country abounds, and which at the outset were worked by the Phœnicians, who employed native workmen under Punic supervision. In this way, the Sardi unconsciously learnt how to win the ore from the soil, and later utilized the information thus obtained to their own advantage; both in the manufacture of arms to keep in check the foreigners holding the seaboard and prevent their further progress, or in the employment of these home-made weapons, when, as mercenaries, they vented their bellicose disposition and spirit of adventure.

The Teti figures enable us to reconstruct the defensive and offensive arms of these native tribes, whose stone age was anterior to their intercourse with Phœnicia, when they used hard stone implements, weapons, and utensils. Obsidian arrow-heads[1] have been recovered in many places; whilst M. Pais mentions a pair of double-edged scissors in basalt, picked up at Pauli-Gerrei.[2] This class of objects, however, is rare, as compared with the vast quantity of bronze pieces yielded by excavations, making it probable that when the population had acquired a certain degree of density the processes used in casting and working metals were not unknown.

Among the native weapons dug up at Teti and other repositories, by far the more striking are those seen in Figs. 51, 52, 54, and 62,[3] from about 1 m. 30c. to 80c. long. The heaviest and longest exhibiting stout ribs and feeble edges, may not have been cast with any idea of usefulness, but simply as votive arms, on the old principle that a "gift should be such as to remain a visible sign to the latest posterity." However that may be, weapons that had seen service were always smaller and more carefully manufactured, their mean length varying from 80 to 90 c. They were possessed

[1] PAIS, *Boll.*, Nos. I., II. p. 30, 1884.

[2] This implement, o m. 18 c. long, by o m. 6 c. at its broadest, is o m. 4 c. in thickness. One end is broken, the other well preserved, and belong to the Neolithic age.

[3] PAIS, *Boll.*, pp. 130–140, 1884. BAUX and GOUIN, *Essai sur les Núraghes*, p. 204.

of neither tongue nor cavity for riveting; a simple indentation on either side of the edge at the lower end of the blade indicates that the handle fitted on to a notch cut for the purpose in the bone or wood hilt. Their blade, almost circular, was rudely made, showing irregular edges and a more or less salient rib on either face (Fig. 90). Another type which should be noted is the flat-shaped sword of the Uta statuette (Fig. 53), exhibiting a short, broad blade; as well as a fine specimen from the Teti repository, distinguished for its very small rib (Fig. 91); and the guard-shaped hilt of Fig. 92, pierced and finely wrought, but which can scarcely have been pleasant to handle; the lower portion alone is preserved. Along with these are curiously shaped, sharp-pointed stilettos, and some kinds of rods in bronze from 20 to 25 c. long (Fig. 93).[1] The head or handle is heavy and large, albeit not inelegant; nearly all were cast in one piece, those whose head and piece were cast separately forming the exception. Votive daggers (Fig. 85) show these identical stilettos in relief, which there is reason to believe were reserve weapons, carried loose over the dagger, and fastened on to it or the dress, by a string passed through the hole seen at the upper end. Were these stilettos used as daggers in a hand-to-hand fight? or kept for dealing blows and brandished at a short distance ere they were thrust in the enemy's side, in true Spanish fashion?

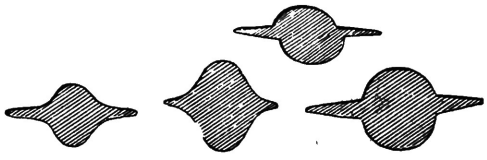


FIG. 90.—Sections of Swords from Teti. From Baux.

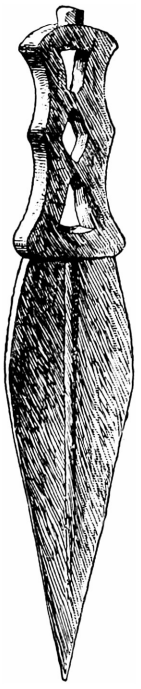


FIG. 91.—Sword from Teti. Height, 19 c. From Baux.



FIG. 92.—Portion of Sword from Teti. Sketch by Baux.

We are ignorant, save that it must have been a weapon peculiar to the native soldier, one by which he was easily recognized from among a host of other mercenaries; be it because he was never

[1] PAIS, *Boll.*, pp. 130–132, 1884; and GOUIN and BAUX, *Essai*, etc., p. 208.

seen without it, or for his well-known dexterity and unerring aim in plying it.

Having enumerated the almost endless variety of shape to be found in daggers associated with statuettes or otherwise,[1] a word or two respecting the cruciform dagger, the object of much attention, may be said here. Its diminutive size caused it to be viewed as a military decoration.[2] This, however, is one of those hypotheses which, although possible, have the demerit of being supported by neither historical document nor the remotest allusion by ancient writers of such a custom having existed among the Sardi or the Barbarians who composed the Phœnician armies. Why not admit that we have here a reduced copy of a weapon characteristic of these tribes? If hilt and blade bear no proportion to each other, the former being longer than the latter in the real arms, three or four times as long, it was quite capable of causing ugly wounds.[3] Not unfrequently these handles show good design and good workmanship (Fig. 94). The dagger under notice, re-

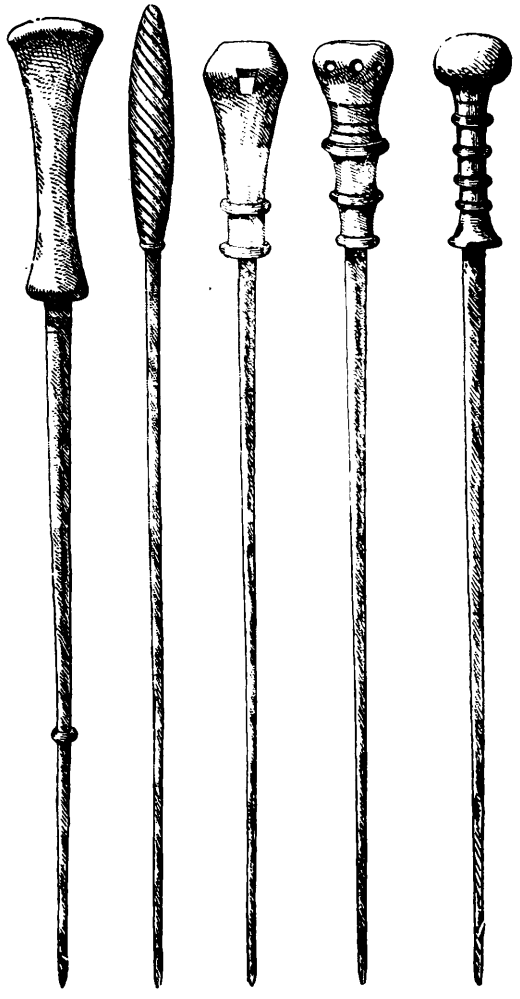


FIG. 93.—Stilettos from Teti. From Baux.

[1] PAIS, *Boll.*, pp. 123–130, 1884.

[2] It is the opinion of MM. Baux and Gouin.

[3] This dagger, of unknown origin, belongs to a bronze statuette in the Louvre collection, and was published in our *Art Hist.*, tom. iii. As surmised by Longpérier, it must be due to Sardinia, the sole country whence have come daggers of similar form.

covered at Teti, consists of a long open guard and uprights, formed by a double twist or plait, connected by narrower bands of similar form.[1] The blade, now broken, was furnished with a tongue fitting the hilt cavity, on a mortise and tenon principle as our common knives, riveted by one single nail to the bone or wood hilt. The small animal figures in relief ornament it on one side, whilst a frog about to leap, and a yawning lizard are displayed around the guard, intended to recall, it may be, the long dreary watches, the lying in wait of perpetual occurrence in the guerilla warfare practised by these mountaineers.

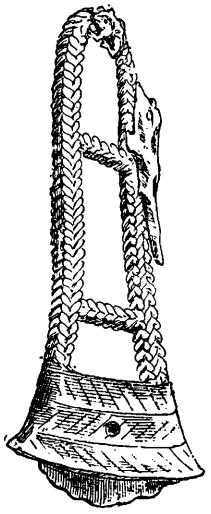


FIG. 94.—Handle of Bronze Dagger. From Teti. *Boll.*, 1884. Plate V., fig. 12.

We shall not mention in detail weapons of no special characteristics, and which have nothing to distinguish them from a host of others of the same class, such as triangular, circular, or ribbed points of lances,[2] single or double-edged axes, the latter being furnished with a socket to receive the handle.[3] As for bows, they were of wood, and have consequently disappeared; but their existence is attested by numberless arrowheads,[4] whilst quivers are known by the statuettes on which they were minutely figured, showing that the left arm wielding the bow was protected by a gauntlet against the rebound of the string (Fig. 96).

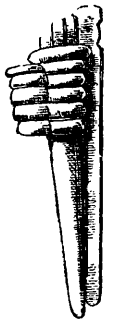


FIG. 95. — Quiver detached from Statuette. *Boll.*, 1884, Plate IV., fig. 3.

If from defensive we pass on to offensive arms, we shall find that helmets, figured and described in another place, are the most noteworthy (Figs. 54 and 67), and which here and there were replaced by a leather or even woollen cap (Figs. 61 and 65). The dress of the Sardi soldier consisted of two coats or tunics, worn one over the other; the upper, often a sheep's skin, states Strabo,[5] in the guise of a cuirass, was no bad proof against the missiles of

[1] PAIS, *Boll.*, pp. 133, 134, 1884. [2] *Ibid.* p. 141. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 140–142.

[4] Various points of the island have yielded pieces closely resembling those mentioned in the text, one only being from Teti. They are all preserved in local collections.

[5] STRABO, V. ii. p. 7.

the enemy. Some statuettes, however, are seen with regular coats of mail (Fig. 57);[1] in their hands were carried a short, broad sword, a circular shield (*pelta*), and short javelins slipped through rings at the back of the pelta, both ends jutting beyond the highly convex quoit-shaped shield[2] (Figs. 51 and 57).[3] The objects we have mentioned as belonging to various parts of the island, including two saws uncovered at Villa Grande Strisaili, together with some Teti instruments and personal ornaments, are all without exception in bronze.

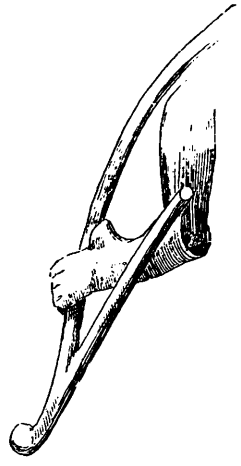


FIG. 96.—Showing Gauntlet of Archer. From Wallet.

Notwithstanding all that has been urged in support of the theory that iron entered into the composition of these various objects, the three collections formed out of the Teti repository have not a single specimen to show.[4] On the other hand, lead, bronze, and copper were constantly applied to industrial productions, as solders and binders in bronze vessels, which, as we have seen, were manufactured in the country. Numerous lead and copper cakes, from two kilos in weight, more or less, have been met with. Were these cakes votive offerings too; or rather, does not their presence imply the existence of a furnace and workshop

[1] La Marmora describes the warrior's dress in the Kircher museum as having, *inter alia*, a breastplate of mail and metal shoulder-pieces.

[2] It will be noticed that Strabo does not use the word πέλτη in its special sense, denoting the indented shield of the Amazons, but in its broader signification indicative of a light circular "pelta."

[3] Upon the affinity to be established between the Sardinian shield and that of other nationalities, consult PAIS, *Boll.*, p. 90.

[4] At first M. Pais thought that fragments of iron were among the Teti repository. M. Gouin, however, whose special knowledge was of much service in elucidating the question, and opposed M. Pais's view (*Boll.*, pp. 74, 148, 1884), was unable to trace the presence of iron in the number of objects found at Abini submitted to his analysis. Specular iron was next put forth as entering into the composition of these objects, but with as little result, M. Gouin having shown that the supposed iron block was a piece of trachyte covered with specular iron, such as frequently occur in volcanic regions (Letter of M. Nissardi, Appendix to *Boll.*, p. 4, 1884). Nor did a piece of ferruginous appearance meet with better success, for it was found to be the resultant of fused bronze. The alloy was often made with very impure copper, as shown by M. Gouin's analysis with the following results: Silex, 6; copper, 78·424; iron, 9·640; sulphur, 2·475; lead, 1·800, = 100 of metal. *Les Bronzes de Teti*, etc., 3ᵉ série, tom. v. p. 293.

around the sanctuary?[1] We believe the latter hypothesis to be correct, inasmuch as votive swords and statuettes had to be soldered on to their sockets on the spot. Very possibly some of these weapons had been purchased of Phœnician traders, or otherwise imported. The bulk, however, was undoubtedly fabricated by native hands, proved by the stone moulds picked up in Sinis, Nura, and the central plateaux, where the forms of the weapons we have described as Sardinian are distinctly impressed thereon.[2]

That lead mines were worked in Sardinia is attested by the enormous accumulation of scoriæ and the state in which they were found; enabling us, too, to determine the various epochs to which they belong; whilst to judge, on the one hand, from the insignificant amount of copper scoriæ, and on the other, of the well-shaped copper cakes, encountered on many points of the island, closely resembling Italian, notably Etruscan cakes, we may infer that copper was for the most part imported.[3] We reproduce one of these cakes (Fig. 97) recovered at Nuraghus, now in the Cagliari museum. Tin, in its natural state, is not found in Sardinia; when wrought into bronze, its composition is the same as that of other ancient nations of corresponding or earlier age. Hence, when the native craftsman manufactured weapons, he did so with used-up bronze melted down anew for the purpose, as the finds at Forraxi-Noi have abundantly proved. Zinc, of the nature known to the Greeks as "cassiterion," was imported by the Phœnicians. A block picked up at Teti and carefully examined throughout by M. Gouin, was found to be oxide of calcined zinc, called by mine-

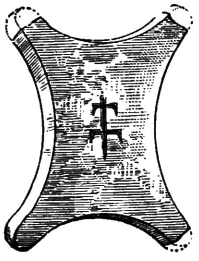


FIG. 97.—Brass Cake. *Boll.*, 1884, p. 149.

[1] Metal bars may have been considered sufficiently valuable to be deemed worthy offerings to the deity (PAIS, *Boll.*, pp. 154, 155).

[2] PAIS, *La Sard.*, p. 122, Plate IV.; *Boll.*, pp. 125, 140, 141, 1884; BAUX and GOUIN, *Essai*, p. 208. Feldspath, schist, and talc were the stones used for these moulds.

[3] M. Pais thought that the device seen on some bronze cakes was the native dagger. This led him to infer that similar bars had been fused in the country (*Bollettino*, p. 130, 1884). One of his illustrations bears undeniable affinity to the Sardinian dagger, save that the peculiar double ring detail is wanting (p. 130.) In Fig. 97, however, the form is more complicated and the analogy less favourable to his theory (p. 149). We think this a simple trade's mark, whilst conscious that this view of the case does not help us to solve the vexed bar question. The weight of these bars varies from 28 to 37 kilos.

ralogists "cassiteris," on account of its fibrous texture.[1] It is very dense, and bears unmistakable traces of torrefaction. The native smelter knew not how to separate alloys from the ore, although practice had taught him that, by adding a small quantity of zinc to pure copper and passing it through the furnace, bronze would be obtained. The contemplation of native bronzes enables us to follow the methods employed by these early artificers in working metals, an industry in which, albeit tentative and imperfect, they seem to have been pretty successful. The lead they used for fixing and soldering was of a coarse kind met with in volcanic districts, and neither refined nor cupelled,[2] whilst the alloy in their bronzes, besides zinc, was found to contain a certain quantity of iron and lead. On the other hand, the copper of laminæ used as binding was perfectly pure; a result which cannot be ascribed to the natives, since they were unacquainted with the processes for separating or compounding metals. Similar laminæ were probably imported from Phœnicia. Nor were they more advanced in the art of soldering; for at Inter-Rogas, and even at Forraxi, of more recent date, the usual mode for joining copper utensils was by riveting, whilst in their bronze statuettes they seem to have fired the particular spots both in the figure and accessories, which were to be brought in contact with each other in order to obtain the end desired.[3]

Lead and copper cakes, scoriæ, and rubbish, which are sure to accumulate on sites where metal works have been extensively and long carried on, have as a rule, been found about núraghs;[4] but statuettes, metal implements, and utensils were naturally uncovered in their close proximity or within their ruins.[5]

§ 6.—*Pottery.*

With the natives of Sardinia the clay industry of the potter and modeller appears not to have progressed beyond its first beginnings. The few terra-cotta figures dug up at Teti are so

[1] M. Nissardi was the first who detected cassiterion in the Forraxi scoriæ, subsequently recognized by M. Gouin in the Teti and other repositories.

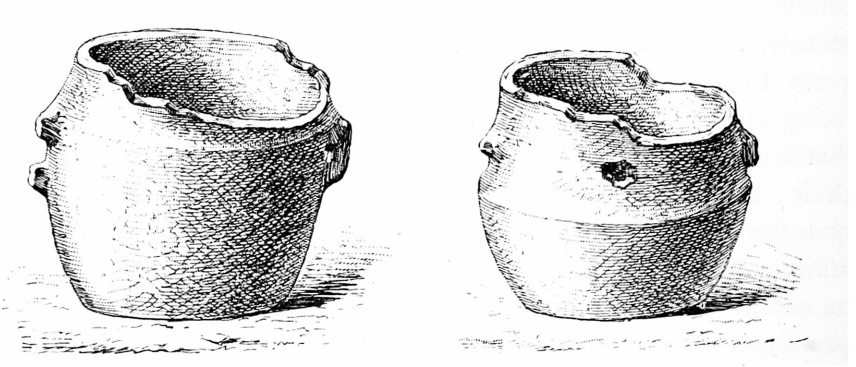
[2] Similar lead is from poor ores, with about 45 to 47 grs. of silver to every 100 kilos of metal.

[3] PAIS, *Bollettino*, p. 128, No. 93, 1884.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 148, 149, Nos. 166, 167, 1884; *La Sardaigne*, etc., p. 122.

[5] LA MARMORA, *Voyage en Sardaigne*, tom. ii. p. 156; and PAIS, *ut supra*.

shapeless and crude in fabrication, that we thought them unworthy of being reproduced.[1] Nor do the vases recovered in the giants' tombs and around núraghs evince a much higher degree of artistic feeling.[2] They are hand made, nothing in them betraying acquaintance with the wheel, whilst it is evident that a polisher was used in touching them up. The paste is fine but not cleansed,



FIGS. 98 and 99.—Clay Vessels. From Baux.

small quantities of silex being found in it; the baking, on the other hand, is better than that of the corresponding age in the Swiss lakes. The colour varies from black to light brown. The walls of these vases are very thick and red on the outside, with here and there traces of black shining glaze. What distinguishes this pottery is the almost entire absence of ornamentation. Our



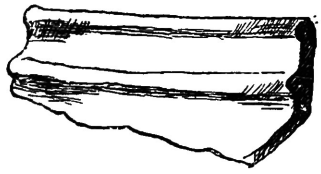
FIGS. 100 and 101.—Earthenware. From Baux.

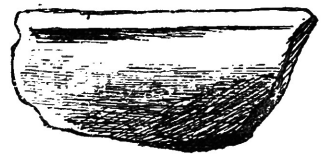
woodcut shows two vessels from a tomb near Tanca-Regia (Figs. 98 and 99). The first is exceedingly archaic, the other, however, betrays a certain effort on the part of the artist to endow the piece with diversified and elegant outline. A kind of tray with or without handles is more generally met with, from 20 to 25 c. broad (Figs. 100 and 101). Vessels have suffered most, and as a rule, are recovered in fragments. Of these only two examples show

[1] See p. 84 of this volume.

[2] A. BAUX, *La Poterie des Núraghes*, etc. (*Revue Archéologique*, 3e série, tom. v. pp. 64–68).

any approach to a moulding about the rim and middle (Figs. 102 and 103). The excavations at Inter-Rogas have yielded fragments of red clay, which seem to have belonged to gourd-shaped





FIGS. 102 and 103.—Portions of Vases. From Baux.

vases, which may be thus restored (Fig. 104).[1] These pieces are a decided improvement upon trays and vessels; the body is harder, fashioned with a more practised hand, almost inducing the belief of its having been turned on the wheel, whilst the graven form or design, made when the paste was soft, is more satisfactory. This design, if so may be called a double row of small concentric circles, interposed by a herring-bone pattern and two rows of single strokes to fill up the space, almost covers the body of the vase, which is well baked, of a good red colour, and probably of later date than the preceding. The same device, but feebler and somewhat confused, is seen on handles, together with dots laid out in rows and oblique strokes.[2] Similar dots and concentric circles may be called the first beginnings of all art productions—those that presented themselves more readily to the imagination of the artist in his attempt at producing variety of form and ornamentation. We met them in Assyria and Cyprus,[3] and in the monuments of most nations ancient and modern. Nothing forbids the possibility that the Sardi potter discovered this device unassisted from



FIG. 104.—Vase restored.

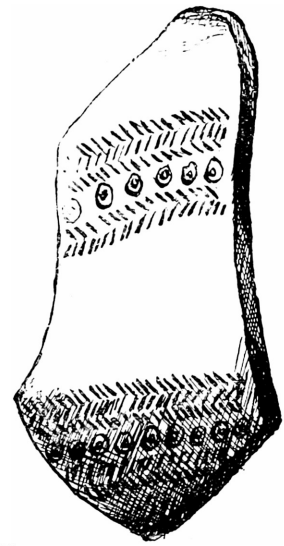


FIG. 105.—Fragment of above Vessel. From Baux.

[1] The restoration is due to M. Baux, the possessor of some of the fragments under notice.

[2] BAUX, *La Poterie des Núraghes*, etc., Figs. 1 and 2.

[3] *Hist. of Art*, tom. ii. Fig. 375; tom. iii. Figs. 497, 513, 522.

without, as it may, with equal probability, have been suggested by a Phœnician specimen.

In the Planu tomb, fragments of pottery were found; the clay is a beautiful red, glazed over with shining black, closely resembling that seen on Greek vases.[1] Such pottery, however, was recognized by the explorer to be much posterior to the sepulchral monuments in which it was found, and cannot be classed along with núragh ceramics. Moreover, it has been proved that the giants' sepulchres were used by successive generations as places of burial.

Glass has not been disinterred at Teti, either in the form of vessels, beads, or amulets. There seems to be some uncertainty as to amber having been among the finds there recovered; but there is none about its presence at Forraxi-Noi;[2] a fact not at all surprising in itself, when it is remembered in what estimation amber was held by the barbarous tribes of the western coasts of the Mediterranean.[3]

§ 7.—*General Outlines of Sardinian Civilization.*

At the end of this study the need is felt of recapitulating the impressions left upon the mind that approaches the subject without bias, and solely in view of collecting and grouping his facts. But whether he has sought them in the rare ancient texts wherein mention is made of the aborigines, or examined them in their industrial products, the results we are about to state must ensue.

The remains of multitudinous núraghs are found in the divisions of Sulcis, Sinis, and on the site of Tharros.[4] No facts can be adduced in proof that núraghs were built by the Carthaginians, for no structures at all resembling these are met with, whether in Africa, Malta, or the Spanish provinces subjected to Punic rule. On the other hand, their civilization was far too advanced to make it probable that they could be the authors of edifices conspicuous for bad arrangement and discomfort, where the efforts displayed bore no proportion to the result obtained. The only explanation, therefore, to be offered for the presence of núraghs in localities occupied by Punic colonists, is that they were built by the natives

[1] *La Poterie des Núraghes*, etc., p. 65. [2] PAIS, *Boll.*, p. 150, No. 168.

[3] The Romans, even in later times, set great store upon amber; nor is it out of favour with the Mohammedans of the present day, both as beads and mouthpieces to their long pipes.—EDITOR.

[4] PAIS, *Bollettino*, p. 179, No. 204, 1884.

prior to the arrival of the former in Sardinia, when as yet the latter were sole masters of the country, but whom the victorious arms of Mago and his successors subsequently compelled to withdraw towards the central plateaux of the island, leaving these massive structures as footmarks of their former extension. If these towers are still standing, it is because in a country where stones abound, no need was felt for their demolition. The blocks, too, composing them were undressed and unwieldy, little calculated to attract a skilful bricklayer, whilst the towers could be made useful as shelters, notably as stores for grain and forage.

It has been noticed that "núraghs are not scattered haphazard over the surface of the island, but are found in large groups following well-defined lines, beyond which they are seldom met with. This main line is from north to south, along the foot of the hilly range supporting high plateaux, and the banks of the Tirso. Towers are of rare occurrence on the sea coast, with the exception of Nurra and the Sinis peninsula; but even here they tend to concentrate inland.

"The line we have drawn is that of the old Roman way, connecting Karalis with Portus Libyssonis; it is the present King's Road and railway. Núraghs commence about Beauladu; their number increases around the valley which from Oristano begins to rise towards Paoli-Latino, deflecting to the north-east; they are distributed on all the buttresses or counter-forts of the principal range, on the plateaux of Abba-Santa, of Macomer, and Campedda, the plain of Ghilivani and Orzieri forming their last barrier on this side. The Núrra group is to the north-west of this belt, with Sassari to the west. As may be inferred, this district takes its name from the number of núraghs encountered here. The central hilly range to the north-east, and the uplands of Barbagia opposing a wall which was never forced by Carthaginian or Roman conqueror, and where isolated núraghs form the exception." [1]

The foregoing observations have induced the conclusion that these towers were due to a people which landed on the western coast of the island, whose first station was Sinis. The conditions to be had here were as favourable as could well be desired; the landing could be easily effected, and the place was naturally fortified. The peninsula, around which a broad belt of sea and multitudinous pools of water were cast, was only connected with

[1] BAUX and GOUIN, *Essai sur les Núraghes*, etc., pp. 189, 190.

Sardinia by a narrow neck of land. The centre was occupied by a volcanic plateau, where in former days four score and five towers, now ruinous, reared their truncated heads; other five, about the water-edge of one of these pools, completed the line of defence. This was their first entrenched camp, whence they set out to seek further afield new lands to till or to pasture their herds, gradually spreading over Campidano and Sulcis, whilst new towers marked their onward progress.

The núragh scheme describes an open arch which frames in the lofty summits of the central tableland to the north, almost following the direction of the Tirso in its first course; extending north and south of it along the lower ridge of the plateaux to the isolated Giarra, which giant-like rises in the centre of the valley as though shot up by a violent convulsion of nature, supporting here and there its mighty limbs against the elevated plateau of Barbagia (Fig. 31), where núraghs, like veritable outposts, are distributed along its precipitous shelving.

The Laconi group stands as a connecting link between the Giarra and the núraghs, about midway up the Sarcidano; the Isili towers completing the line on to the Flumendosa, which closes the arch. The numberless towers to the north-west, now ruinous, may have been due to the same people, who effected a landing at Algherro; whilst a second band entering Sardinia by the Gulf of Palmas built the Sulcis núraghs.

Finally the Teti towers disseminated along the Toloro stream, occupy the head of a valley intersected by the Gennargentu. This forms the most striking departure from the general grouping of these monuments; the principle of which is only to be understood, as in my case, by thorough inspection of the ground where they occur.[1]

It is supposed that the núragh builders, in their onward march, drove before them the savage tribes in possession of the soil. These being few in number, and badly equipped, were unable to withstand the invading hordes; they withdrew therefore to the fastnesses, whence they sallied forth now and again to lay waste the country, plundering the núragh people, whose advanced post was the "city of the watch," in the Toloro gorge. To the rear of this unsuspected fortress, beyond the Tirso, from the summit of the plateaux could be descried the lofty peak of the Gennargentu,

[1] BAUX and GOUIN, *Essai sur les Núraghes*, etc., pp. 191, 192.

wreathed by the imposing núragh chain, the outline of which arched out or caved in according to the nature of the ground.

In the silence of history this hypothesis, better than any hitherto adduced, agrees with the data yielded by the núragh map.[1] But the chain of evidence is far from being complete; for had the núragh scheme, displayed from north to south, been directed as defensive works against the Carthaginians, its outward curve would have faced the great plain occupied by the Libyan colonists, towers would have projected from every spur of the great Gennargentu rock, as at the Giarra, and the line protracted perhaps to Nurra in the north; but it would never have been pushed so far south as Sulcis and Sinis, in the very jaws of the Carthaginians, masters of the whole coast and of its approaches. Even supposing that some of the tribes had attempted to hold the tract interposed between the plain and the unguarded seaboard everywhere accessible in this direction, they would immediately have been separated from the main body, their retreat cut off, and themselves annihilated.

But if we accept the núragh scheme, as successive stages of immigrants who entered Sardinia, as the Phœnicians afterwards, by the west coast, all difficulties are removed, and everything becomes as clear as day. Such a conjecture is strengthened almost to certainty, when we compare the affinity which exists between núraghs and talayots, an affinity so striking as to force the conviction upon the mind of their having been raised by one and the same people.

We have stated elsewhere our reasons for believing that part of the early inhabitants of Sardinia were from Africa. This supposition is confirmed by a curious passage in Diodorus, where we read of "chiefs [Libyan] occupying the country between Africa and the Syrtes, as having no towns, but possessing towers built near the waters, in which they store their provisions."[2] Were these Libyan towers akin to Sardinian núraghs? To this question we have no answer; but we know that núraghs and talayots constitute a very special type, the leading features of which had been fixed prior to the separation of the tribes, when one group occupied the Baleares, whilst the other settled in Sardinia—a type which was graven on their memory, deeply grafted in their social life, and

[1] This hypothesis we borrow from MM. Baux and Gouin.

[2] DIODORUS, III. xlix. 3. Similar towers were frequently met with in Spain. LIVY, xxii. 6.

which they reproduced *ad nauseam* wherever they wandered. If they came from the Afric continent, and all point that way, the typical mode of architecture of the western islands of the Mediterranean was imported from the Libyan coast.

Be this as it may, it is certain that when the núragh builders landed in Sardinia, they had already emerged from the lowest grade of savage life, shown in these structures; which, if wanting in beauty of form and ornamentation, had the uncontested merit of solidity. They may even then have been possessed of bronze weapons; but if not, the Tyrian traders, who very early frequented Sardinian harbours, must have taught them to what use they might be put as means of self-defence.

If here and there núraghs were built with unprepared stones, the facing on one side at least was, as a rule, with dressed blocks. This implies a bronze implement, for pure copper would have been too soft, and iron is not met with until the Punic and Roman epoch; for as we have seen, no traces of it have been found in the various repositories of the independent tribes. Now bronze could only have been supplied them by the Phœnicians, who down to the first Punic war had the whole commerce of the Mediterranean, not to say of the world, in their own hands.

The need of procuring this precious metal was the first incentive to relations being entered into between vendors on the one hand and purchasers on the other. Such relations were largely to the advantage of the aborigines until the day when Carthage, not content with mere barter, aspired to become a political and conquering power. To the period preceding her policy of annexation must belong the Sulcis and Sinis towers, as well as those distributed about the broad expanse to the south-east, including the adjacent plateaux. We are inclined to believe that about this time Sardinia was inhabited by two distinct people, differing from and often at war with each other. The older occupiers were those tribes, respecting which we know absolutely nothing, except that they were uncivilized and lived in rocky caverns; whilst the younger, *i.e.* later to arrive in the island, for want of a proper name to bestow upon them, we must fain call "núragh people."

These, thanks to the superiority of their arms, and the solidity of their towers, were able to possess themselves of the more fruitful portion of the country; the early inhabitants gradually falling back towards the centre without being pursued, for they

left all that was worth having in their rear. The position of the núragh-builders became less pleasant, and even precarious, when the Carthaginians decided upon the conquest of the island, in the sixth century A.C. What was then the attitude of the núragh-builders? Did they oppose an obstinate front to the invading force? Was it against them that Carthage and Rome afterwards directed their formidable expeditions? We are ignorant on the subject; yet it is difficult to believe that they allowed their fat land to be taken and themselves dispersed without striking a blow.

Nevertheless, the way is not clear for identifying them with the Balari and Ilienses, stated by ancient historians as occupying the eastern coast. Nor will it further the question to suppose, what would be extremely absurd, that the núragh tribes were thrust back towards the Barbagia highlands, when they suddenly changed their habits and unlearnt all they had previously known. A theory that would seem natural, would be to assume that a formidable foe had to be met by commensurate means of defence, and his advance arrested at all costs; hence núragh groups had risen at the mouth of every valley or pass, on the edge of every plateau, or craig or mound, and natural fortifications had been further supplemented, where requisite, by the hand of man. Nothing of the kind, however, is to be observed throughout this part of the country; núraghs are as rare as they are plentiful in the south and west.

Here and there detached portions of this people, driven to the mountains, may have mingled with the fierce, pillaging tribes which at the beginning of our era, were still in the enjoyment of their autonomy.

It seems probable, however, that uncoerced and of their own free will the bulk of the nation finally accepted Carthaginian supremacy, and that they lived on friendly terms with the cities of the seaboard, as well as with the Libyo-Phœnician colonists of the plain; that they adopted their language, or at least enough to make themselves understood; and that—thanks to the neighbourly intercourse on the one hand, and the drafting of large numbers into mercenary bands on the other—a certain substratum of culture was the result. Had the Punic language only been spoken in the cities and their suburbs, it would not have remained the current means of communication two hundred years after the Roman conquest.

M. Pais has drawn a map of Sardinia, with an imaginary line dividing off the territory which owned Punic rule from that of the unsubdued tribes, based upon historical and archæological evidence, as well as a thorough understanding of the configuration of the country. This line is marked with dots in Fig. 2.[1] Now, with one striking exception, this line exactly corresponds with the barrier set up by the núragh scheme; the Teti group alone thrusting the narrow end of the wedge beyond this perimeter into alien territory. Such a coincidence is of no small moment in our line of inquiry, inasmuch as we think that a strong presumption in favour of the theory we advocate is to be deduced therefrom. It is an hypothesis confirmed, moreover, by careful study of the monuments which represent what we have called "Sardinian art," which is at best but an inferior, far-off imitation of Punic effort. Inversely from those who think that the bronzes and Teti towers belong to prehistoric ages, *i.e.* long before contact between the aborigines and Phœnicians had taken place, we firmly believe that when the first núraghs were built, Tyrian ships, if they were not wont already to run in the harbours on the south coast, paid regular and frequent visits to the island in order to dispose of their goods, and that such journeys were contemporaneous with the casting of figures and votive boats. To speak frankly, we are of opinion that few among the bronzes preserved are older than the Carthaginian period; *i.e.* coeval with their first appearance on the Sardinian shores and their subsequent occupation of the stretches extending to the foot of the mountain range, when daily intercourse between settlers and aborigines, and when moreover the travelled experiences of the latter had placed them in more favourable conditions to receive the teachings of a higher civilization. The Punic occupation lasted about three hundred years, a lapse of time during which the suggestive examples the natives beheld around them stimulated them to rise to the highest grade of culture to which they were to attain—evinced in their industrial productions. These, it must be admitted, were never conspicuous for the rich and diversified treatment which characterizes Phœnician art, notably in the wall and floor decorations that have come down to us, albeit in harmony with their mode of life and simple needs.

The monuments which we feel justified in ascribing to the

[1] PAIS, *La Sardegna*, Plate IVA.

natives bear no inscriptions; whence the inference may be drawn that such among them who spoke the Punic language, were unable to write it. The tenour of life of this illiterate people was of as rude a description as can well be imagined. Cities they had none; the bare, miserable huts which formed their villages, were arranged in serrated files around núraghs. A saw, a wimble, a horn, and a comb in bronze, represent the whole of their domestic implements and objects of personal use. Jewelled fillets, ear drops, necklaces, armlets, and rings for the fingers, found in such abundance within Punic necropoles, including enamelled clay and precious metals, are unknown in this region. Ceramic industry was at its very beginning; the sparsely distributed clay figures with which we are acquainted are crude in the extreme; nor is there much more taste or skill lavished upon their vases. On the other hand, the aptitude they showed in making use of lead, copper, and bronze, in fashioning figures, arms, and implements, evinces a decided progress when compared with pottery. But when we remember that these populations were chiefly composed of woodmen, hunters, or soldiers, such a disparity between the two art-industries ceases to cause surprise; for they were still at that stage when means of self-defence are deemed of greater importance than creature comforts or amenities of life. Thus the arms of their manufacture were of the particular form and make to suit their fancy or needs; the supply was in ratio of the demand; and had induced a certain degree of proficiency in the armourer and artificer; evinced in their bronzes, here and there bringing to remembrance the more striking incidents of their lives, such as deer-stalking or lying in wait for the hated foe at the mouth of a narrow pass. Out of these workshops, in which lignite, found in some districts, may have been used, were fashioned those votive idols (which we have described), for the warrior rich with the spoils of many countries;[1] those diminutive boats which recalled his sea adventures, those bulls' heads which testified to his liberality, and finally the statuettes that figured him attired in the armour he had worn when fighting in distant countries.

It was natural that, accustomed to producing and using bronze for all the ordinary purposes of life, the need of iron implements should have been felt very late in the day by the aborigines. Pieces of iron have been recovered at Forraxi and in the necro-

[1] Pieces of lignite were dug up at Teti (PAIS, *Bollettino*, p. 148, 1884).

polis of Tharros. In all probability, however, its presence in the island, in its manufactured state, is not earlier than the commencement of the Roman conquest; although the Phœnicians had been acquainted with it long before they landed in Sardinia. The difficulty of reconciling the discrepancy involved by the absence of iron in native art, with Punic patronage under whose shadow it grew and was fostered, led to the somewhat hasty conclusion that bronze monuments were much older than had been at first supposed. An assumption which we deem unsubstantiated by evidence.[1] For although iron mines exist in Sardinia, great expenditure of money and labour are required to reduce the ore; hence the beds were left untouched in the old days, even as they are now. Innumerable examples, too, might be brought forward in proof of the obstinacy shown by certain nations, in their preference of goods or weapons with which they are familiar, rather than betake themselves to better articles close to hand. It is a well-known fact that the introduction of iron into Egypt was effected at a very late period; whilst bronze was used, to the exclusion of any other metal, in Northern Europe to the beginning of our era. According to Herodotus, in the fifth century B.C., the arms of the Massagetes were bronze.[2] With the Gauls and Britons, bronze was not replaced by steel weapons until long after their intercourse with nations from whom, had they desired, they might have borrowed them.[3] Again, we read in Strabo, that the Lusitanians employed none but bronze lance-heads, albeit they were in very early days on an amicable footing with the Phœnicians. The case equally applies to most Oriental nations. Whoever has visited Albania and other parts of the Turkish empire, must have observed how conservative these people are in the matter of their old, ill-constructed, albeit picturesque blunderbusses, when needle-guns might be obtained from any European centre. Only a few years back, the Sardinian peasant was not to be persuaded to part with his long carbine, or "canetta," of native manufacture, for a good rifle, such as was in the hands of every sportsman of the more populated localities. This, he was wont to view with

[1] We wish to note that throughout this portion of our volume, we do no more than summarise M. Pais's views upon the subject under discussion.

[2] HERODOTUS, i. 215.

[3] ALEX. BERTRAND, *La Gaule avant les Gaulois*, pp. 149–172, 1884. EVANS, *L'Age du Bronze*, p. 512 and following.

diffidence and scant respect, as a new-fangled invention. A similar spirit of dogged obstinacy is evident with the núragh people. Steel arms were to be had at Kæralis and Tharros; but their purchase would have entailed a large sum of money, which they could ill afford, and must needs have been paid by instalments, much to their disadvantage with regard to their independent attitude towards the Punic tradesman; consequently they kept to those of their own manufacture, which were less costly and more easily obtained. Armed with his canetta, the native woodman felt equal to keeping intruders and the evilly disposed from his jealously guarded hearth. At those times, when the unsettled state of affairs in the Mediterranean prevented Punic traders paying their accustomary visits, and tin was scarce in consequence, he could recast and turn to account used up bronze.

If, therefore, during the whole period of the tower-builders' autonomy, we do not meet with fabricated iron in Sardinia, this does in no way warrant the conclusion that their civilization was anterior to the introduction of that metal in the Midland Sea; neither does it invalidate the fact of the influence of Phœnicia having been deep and lasting—seen everywhere in their industrial arts. What were the deities worshipped by these tribes and what the names by which they were addressed? We know not; save that the god discovered at Teti is roughly suggestive of a Phœnician Baal; whilst the cultus attending him awakens in the memory visions of ceremonies in Punic temples, which these natives must have visited, be it at home or abroad. Thus to give an instance, one of the most striking features in these idols is the multiplicity of their visual organs (Figs. 51 and 52). Now the Phœnician Baal Samaïm or Baal of heaven, called by Philo Byblos "Kronos," was so represented; and a temple in his honour was raised to him in Sardinia.[1] The numerous statuettes set on pedestals, the votive objects that filled the Teti sanctuary, bring to mind those crowding the "haram" of the temples of Phœnicia and Cyprus. The small figures are not possessed of the noble proportions that distinguish the great stone idols which came out of Cypriotes' studios; they shadow forth, however, the same idea and the same rite: the devotee dedicating his own effigy in the fond belief that he will thereby indefinitely prolong the act of

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. p. 61. Ἐπενόησε δὲ καὶ τῷ Κρόνῳ παράσημα βασιλείας ὄμματα τέσσαρα ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων καὶ ὀπισθίων μέρων.

adoration.[1] The attitude is the same: the hand is outstretched, holding a patera or some object he is about to offer, or raised in token of homage; all the difference lies in the execution, which is bad throughout and objectionable in some of the details, such as undue enlargement of hand and shapeless offering. Certain rites, too, observable here, appear to have been borrowed from Punic usages. Thus the stags stuck up on the point of a sword, as a remembrance of one or more animals sacrificed at the god's altar, were of frequent occurrence in the Phœnician ritual, whose every detail was minutely defined and jealously observed.[2] To the same order of ideas belong those doves furnished with a hook for suspension set up on small columns, as well as most votive boats (Fig. 83).[3] With the Phœnicians, the dove was an emblem of Astarte;[4] whose Punic name was "Meleket has Samaïm," "queen of heaven;"[5] supposed to be particularly favourable to mariners, as she was later among the Greeks under the name of Aphrodite. These touches testify to the migration of ideas and religious practices; the same conclusion is arrived at by study of the shapes of ordinary objects, as well as the few forms, necessarily simple, such as plaiting and interlacing; in which the effort of the artist towards onward progress is apparent throughout (Fig. 94).[6] We have stated earlier how extensively plaiting entered into Phœnician ornament;[7] of which beautiful examples may be seen in the mosaics lining the walls of one of the staircases in the British Museum. Again, one of the Teti pedestals seems to have been decorated by mouldings, similar in outline to those we noticed on the stelæ of Punic maritime cities (Fig. 73).[8] Before we finish this enumeration, we will bring two more facts difficult to explain, save on the assumption that Sardinian art was due to the unaided effort of native artists long before they met the Carthaginians. The first is a bronze representing a soldier holding a palm in his

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 257, 258.

[2] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *L'Imagerie Phénicienne*, § 5, *Le Sacrifice du cerf dans le ritual Carthaginois.*

[3] *Bollettino, Arch. Sardo*, 1884, Plate II. figs. 16, 18, and 22.

[4] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 69, 70.

[5] The Aphrodite worshipped at Cnidos, as Εὔπλοια, "she who ensures a good passage," was a Punic deity brought there by the Phœnicians, who preceded the Greeks.

[6] Besides our own engraving, Païs has several more examples.

[7] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. p. 131.

[8] *Ibid.*, tom. iii. p. 310, fig. 233.

hand (Fig. 56). Date trees, however, are not a European growth, but belong to Africa, and if introduced to Sardinia, it was not for the fruit, which cannot mature there, but simply for ornamental purposes; for the Phœnicians seem to have carried with them some of their native plants and have tried to acclimatize them in their various colonies.[1] Moreover, from the day that the islanders entered into relationship with Carthage, the palm device met their eyes everywhere;[2] be it on their stelæ, columnar capitals, or coins.[3] Nor has its symbolism ceased; for with us it is still the emblem of triumph, and shares to a great extent the high estimation in which the oak and laurel are held. When and where did it receive its symbolical value? It cannot have been in Greece, where the palm was not indigenous. Its conventional treatment was adopted by the Romans, from whom it has passed to us; but it was an importation, and its origin must be sought among the people of Syria and those of the Afric continent; hence the Sardinian bronze in question would represent one of the oldest examples of native art.

The following words which we have to offer will complete this demonstration. As far as we can judge from information furnished by native scholars, the bulk of the industrial productions of the núragh people are distinguished by typical characteristics, which are met here and there on soil subject to Punic rule and in Punic necropoles. Thus statuettes akin to those of the Teti repository, have been discovered at Uta, near Cagliari (Fig. 53), and at Sulcis, one of the earliest Phœnician stations in the island.[4] The Spano collection is supposed to possess a votive boat dug up at Tharros;[5] in any case, daggers, swords, and stilettos were there recovered, identical with those of the Teti repository;[6] whilst arrow-heads in both places are identical in shape, save in the matter of material, which is bronze in the former, and iron in the latter.[7] Again, bronze knobs or buttons and armlets have been disinterred around towers and maritime cities; and what is still more decisive is the fact that the scabbards of the hiding-places and the centre of the

[1] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *L'Imagerie Phénicienne*, p. 113. So did the Saracens long after them. The palm and date trees which form so charming a feature of the Riviera gardens were due to them.—EDITOR.

[2] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. p. 460, fig. 336.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 265, Fig. 253.

[4] PAIS, *Boll.*, p. 166, 1884.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 116, 1884.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 132, 137.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

island, to which we ascribed a votive destination (Fig. 85), have been excavated at Karalis and Tharros as well.[1]

Thus it is seen that many points of contact, multitudinous resemblances, are to be traced between Sardinian and Punic industry, which it were unwise as it is impossible to deny or ignore. But although endless examples might be arrayed, those we have brought forward will suffice to point out the close relationship which exists in the general character as well as in many of the details of both.

The architecture of these aborigines, whether in their towers or tombs, is the only element which shows some degree of originality; witnessed nowhere else save in the talayots of the Baleares and the megalithic monuments of North Africa and Western Europe.

Notwithstanding their rough and archaic character, both classes of structures bear a stamp of individuality which places them above any suspicion of being imitated; this too is visible throughout in their metal and clay objects. Had the Phœnicians never visited Sardinia, the use of tin would have been unknown to its inhabitants, and bronze would have been equally unfamiliar to them; they would have been unable to fabricate weapons which rendered them formidable foes and desirable auxiliaries, and animal, more especially human forms, would never have been produced. These, however barbarous in make, testify nevertheless to a civilization far removed from that which megalithic, palafitte (log-cabins) and terra-mare monuments represent. Their starting-point was about the same; the difference is seen in their progress, favoured in the case of Sardinia by contact with Carthage. Hence it may be assumed that if left to themselves these tribes would have stopped short of the standard they ultimately attained.

We may be thought to have lingered too long on Sardinian ground, and that this was scarcely justified by its art productions, which it must be confessed are not of the nature to attract and please *dilettanti*. The monotonous plan and heavy proportions of their buildings are not compensated by delicate or beautiful ornamentation, of which there is little or nothing, whilst the statuettes, by their crude execution, verge on ugliness and deformity. The interest which attaches to this fragment or short episode in art-history, was the moving spring in our decision for making it the subject of our study; for in spite of its limitations it enables

[1] PAIS, *Boll.*, p. 145.

us to gauge the results of an experience which no other country offers in exactly the same conditions. The sequel of this work will take us among peoples who, as the Etruscans and Romans, looked to Greece as their model; we shall see what they learnt at that school, and what resources they therein found for the unfolding of their inventive genius and mode of thought. On the other hand, the study of tribes whose sole instruction was derived from Phœnicia was quaint and instructive at the same time. In the space of five or six hundred years they entertained no relationship with the civilized world, save what was yielded by Tyrian traders or Carthaginian colonists. Hence anything that recalls, however dimly, the appliances and usages of cultured life, was drawn from these sources; as were the rudiments of their nascent industry and such scanty means of expression which they had made their own.

Are there weighty reasons for believing that the Sardi were naturally opposed to civilization? Did they belong to a stock whose physical and moral state condemned them to remain, no matter in what surroundings, on the lowest grades of human progress? But has it been proved that there exist races upon whom is laid a similar curse? The more deeply we look into history, past and present, the more are we loth to admit that the feelings, ideas, and all that goes to make up the problem of human destiny and its consequent solution, are the sole and exclusive patrimony of the Aryan race. We know not to what stock belonged the Sardi; but what does that prove? Are there wanting brilliant instances of nationalities, whose high standard of culture will favourably compare with any the world has ever known, but whom no stretch of imagination, however vivid, could in any way connect with the Aryan family? Cannot we point to Egypt and Chaldæa, to Japan and China, whose dense populations cover the better half of an immense continent and with whom we were foolish enough to quarrel?

If the Sardi never stepped beyond the rudiments of culture, the fault was less theirs than their masters. Had we desired to test the soundness of the ideas adumbrated in this essay, we could not have resorted to a more effective method than that which we adopted in summing up this chapter; namely, by reference to texts and "finds" in as brief a manner as lucidity of exposition would permit. Our conclusion has been arrived at by direct observation

of the character and special genius of the Phœnicians; these enabled us to gauge with absolute certainty their civilization, to note its lacunes, and define what Carthage lacked and the cause of her failure in becoming a great educational force, which her marvellous activity, her incomparable gift of transporting herself almost to any point of the compass, seemed to single her out pre-eminently for playing a similar part. While it is the merest truism to say that an efficient teacher makes a good pupil, it is an apt illustration of the case at hand. The Sardi furnish the exact mark of what the world would have been had Tyre and Carthage remained sole mistresses of the Mediterranean; and had not the Greeks entered upon the scene towards the eighth century B.C.; when taking up the reins that had fallen from Punic grasp, they expounded to the neighbouring peoples, the noble and exquisite forms of their poetic fancy; the anthropomorphic and humanizing types of their Olympus, the models of their plastic art, which, untrammelled from the conventionality and time honoured traditions that had swathed their mode of expression and that were no longer in harmony with the teaching of their philosophers, rose to the highest pitch the world had seen, and that are unsurpassed at the present day.



JUDÆA.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HEBREW CIVILIZATION.

§ 1.—*The Place of Judæa in History.*

As we ran over the great tableland of Sardinia and penetrated into its valleys, we noted how contact with Phœnicia had weaned the untutored savages of the distant west out of their primitive barbarism, how under the auspices of Tyre and Carthage, they in time had attained, if not a high grade, at least the first rudiments of plastic and industrial arts, brought about by the knowledge of metals and their diversified uses. We followed the Phœnicians to the utmost limit of their adventurous trail; we observed them at work there where their influence knew as yet of no rival; still in their company, we shall retrace our steps towards the Syrian coasts, whence their ships were wont to start on their expeditions embracing the whole Mediterranean. Tyre, nor Sidon, nor any of the maritime cities shall this time engage our attention or delay our visit to the narrow strip of land turned into a green and shady oasis by the skilful husbandry of its inhabitants.

In that portion interposing between Phœnicia and the valley of the Jordan, which we now call Palestine, we shall find a small people, owning the same blood and speech as the Phœnicians, whose place in the world was but a narrow corner, rendered nevertheless important by the unparalleled part they played in it. This people were the Jews. Although closely related to the Phœnicians, they were most unlike them, in that early period at least, which at present alone concerns us. The place they hold in the history of civilization was not the result of their great industrial or commercial power, which were *nil*, since as long as Judæa was their own to live in, they were nothing more than herdsmen, ploughmen,

and soldiers in turn. Their industry was of the simplest kind, and such as a community with the smallest pretensions to a cultured life must needs possess. How inferior that was we may guess from their having borrowed of their more advanced neighbours, the Philistines, notably the Phœnicians, the best part of their domestic and war implements. Nor did matters improve until after the fall of Samaria and Jerusalem; when the Babylonian captivity, by compelling the Jews to live among strangers, opened up new avenues of thought and awakened aptitudes and tastes which had laid dormant until then. This was their first great stride onwards; from that day a series of circumstances so worked upon them as to finally drive them from the country of their forefathers, causing them to spread in more or less compact groups over the East, thence from stage to stage over the whole habitable globe. In their eternal exile, in conditions rendered exceptional and dramatic by circumstances trying in the extreme, their genius for thrift, patience and boldness, as traffickers, was unfolded. Who more persuasive or untiring than the Jewish broker? What financial enterprise is gone into which has not a Jew as its promoter? Are there transactions, great or small, carried on without his cognizance? From the purchase of a horse, a small plot of ground, or the negotiating of a national loan, it is a Jew who moves the springs; and his the only verdict that can make a nation solvent or bankrupt. What wonder, then, that modern communities should view with terror and alarm the unfathomable capital that must be in their hands.

In some respects, the Jews of what St. Paul called the latter days, like their descendants, recall their Phœnician brethren in spite of divergences which it were easy to indicate. Thus, for instance, the Tyrians and Carthaginians were eminently merchants, craftsmen, and mariners; the same mercantile and practical spirit is evinced by the Jews, in the devotion of all their energies to banking, the lending of money, and credit. The differences are but slight; the means to an end employed are analagous if not identical. During their national existence the Jews were essentially husbandmen; and the traffic of money being severely reprobated by the Mosaic law, gave them no opportunity of displaying their proclivities in this direction. They were an inland people, hemmed in towards the sea by the Phœnicians; whilst inimical states and warring tribes opposed an impassable barrier from Damascus to

the Dead Sea, as well as towards Arabia, Petræa, and the Egyptian *ouadi*. A barrier never broken save at rare intervals, by the individual efforts of a powerful prince; but his influence once removed, the brazen wall that had parted for a while closed anew, sometimes after a brilliant victory which had seemed the harbinger of a better state of affairs. Natural frontiers they had none, if we except Lebanon and Jordan; nor gateways to connect them with the thoroughfares of the outer world. There was nothing, in fact, in their geographical or social position to awaken a spirit of enterprise, nothing to favour handicrafts by means of which raw materials are transformed, design is created, bringing in its wake all the appliances of cultured life. Viewed in this light, Judæa, even in its palmiest days, must have stood, as regards Phœnicia, much on the same level as Edom and Moab.

But if Jerusalem and Samaria were nowhere as industrial centres, from a moral and religious standpoint they were highly superior to Tyre and Carthage. The Phœnicians were nothing if not traders; with them religion never progressed beyond a selfish positivism, a kind of mutual accommodation or bargain between man and the deity, so that even under the influence of strong emotions, when the human mind is more easily impressed by spiritual agency, they quieted the vagueness of yearning, the longing of unsatisfied desire, by wallowing in immoral and revoltingly gruesome practices. The case was altogether different with the Jews. At a critical period of their life, under their last kings, religious sentiment, both intense and fervid, which was reflected in its highest and purest conceptions in their great prophets, took possession of their whole being. At the outset, it looks as if so sincere and passionate a feeling ought to have called forth whatever there lurked in their natures of artistic tendencies, and that noble and exquisite forms—commensurate with the "majesty divine" of Jewish thought must have been the result. Matters, however, took a different course, Jehovah was a spirit, all powerful, living in solitary grandeur in the highest, outside the world he had made; who, unlike the gods of other nations, did not lend himself to being painted or sculptured. The chasm interposing between the Creator and the created was boundless, insurmountable. The prophets, moreover, in order to win their countrymen over to Jehovah, had proscribed all semblance to be attempted, whether in the organic or inorganic world; while the second

commandment of the Decalogue had doomed sculpture ere its birth.[1]

That arts go hand in hand together is abundantly illustrated by the countries of their predilection, where they developed and flourished side by side. They may be likened unto the human body, no part of which can be discarded without the remainder suffering and languishing in sympathy. If the architect deprives himself of the resources yielded by the sculptor, his edifice, however skilfully conceived and executed, is certain to result in rigid and monotonous aspect. The Jewish artist, condemned from the first to poverty of invention and detail, produced very little. His only work for posterity is the temple of Jerusalem. Even this, however, when isolated from its accessories, is a mediocre and small edifice, which can bear no comparison with the corresponding structures at Karnac, Luxor, the storied towers of Chaldæa, the temples of Greece and Rome, or Gothic and Renaissance churches. Nor is this all; the art to which the temple is due, was Phœnician art, undistinguished by the power and individuality so characteristic of Egyptian, Assyrian, or Greek productions; whilst the quaint *naïveté* discernible in those of the Middle Ages, the graciousness of the Renaissance, are equally absent. It was a poor art at best; for the greater part of its disposition and of its forms were borrowed from the Nile and the Euphrates valleys.

If so, why have we reserved a special, a considerable space in this history for a monument which at the outset seems to have been much less important or beautiful than numbers we could name, whether in the East or near home, about whose stately remains we did not, neither shall we, tarry long? Why, at the end of so many monuments, did we deem it our duty to take up this, replete with special difficulties, certain to arouse suspicion or provoke contest? Had it not been wiser to reserve both space and the resources at the command of the architect for other purposes, such as restorations and the like; which, thanks to the nature and abundance of materials to hand, would have been easy of construction, consequently justifiable in the eyes of the general observer?

A similar rashness, or if preferred, seeming inconsistency finds its reason to be in the singular, nay, unparalleled part which the Jewish people played in the world's annals. Whatever has reference to them concerns nations who, like ourselves, profess a

[1] *Exod.* xx. 4.

religion that had its being in the shadow of the temple; and is the outcome of their spiritual and monotheistic dogma. Albeit different in kind and degree, Jerusalem and Athens are the real capitals of the ancient world in its highest communings. The budding of Christianity was due to the fusion of religious and philosophical speculations elaborated in these respective sanctuaries. The temples seemingly so far apart, are in fact near and supplement each other: one looking towards the city where preached the prophets; whilst the other is turned towards the portico where Plato discoursed and Socrates questioned. Suppose a comparison between the two edifices were possible, and we could place them side by side, what artist but would cast his vote in favour of the Parthenon, simple in outline, albeit grandiose, noble, and diversified? Ere long, however, the memories of early days would assert themselves, and the promptings of curiosity in looking at the plan and decoration of the temple would give way to respect and awe. People whose early associations are not altogether obliterated will not deem it strange, therefore, that we should have desired to form a just conception of this once famous temple, now so utterly demolished that not a stone remains; but which, twice rebuilt and destroyed—aided, no doubt, by the sublime poetry of Holy Writ—has taken such hold on the imagination of peoples reared on the teachings of the Bible, as to distance every other and assume colossal proportions. Our essayal at restoring it, will epitomize the history of Jewish art in Judæa, during the whole period preceding the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, 586 B.C. It is a monument unique in the world; in that, having left no traces on the site it once occupied, yet it has lived and lives in the memory of almost all classes of men. Our survey will not extend beyond works that were executed before the Captivity, such as sepulchral and religious œdicula, and aqueducts laboriously constructed in the rocky hill side. As for the richly decorated tombs rising in the Kedron valley and around Jerusalem, they belong to a much later epoch, and are cœval with the Asmonæan princes, Herod, and his successors. Throughout the first portion of our work, which will end the fourth volume, our attention will be exclusively directed to edifices indebted for their creation to Eastern influence, ere Greek style and taste in all matters pertaining to art productions had supervened.

If here and there we shall break through our self-imposed limits,

as we did for Phœnicia, it will be the exception, not the rule; when applying the same methods, we shall demand of more recent works points for elucidation and comparison, in reconstructing a past that has for ever perished. A similar procedure will necessitate calling to our aid the persistent and special workings of tradition; which in some countries are known to have lived on for long generations, even when the conditions that had given them birth had passed away; and religion, language, customs, and even the native race, had been substituted by a sudden catastrophe or gradual transformation. In the case of Palestine, however, the captives of Ephraim and Judah, who, like sheep, were driven to the plains of the Chebar, Tigris, and Euphrates, represented but the better classes of the population; the common people were suffered to remain. But granted that it had been otherwise; the edict enacted by Darius and Cyrus was to favour the return of the Israelites to Judæa, that they might rebuild their temple and their cities, and reconstitute themselves anew into a nation acknowledging Babylonian supremacy. Matters stood thus down to the battle of Issus, when Darius was crushed by Alexander; nor was their political situation other than it had been under their last kings. As of old, they were confined to Phœnicia on the south-east; whose territory they traversed and whose harbours they entered on their way to Egypt and the west generally; whilst Syria formed their boundary to the north, and Aramæan tribes separated them from the Semites of Mesopotamia. At the time of their national disaster, numbers found permanent shelter in the delta, where they have remained unto this day. Through the vicissitudes of war the Israelites were scattered over the vast area extending from the Persic Gulf to the foot of the Taurus and the mountain range of Armenia, where they struck deep roots, whether as agriculturists or industrials in the great centres, notably Babylon; so that when their country was once more opened to them, not all availed themselves of the opportunity, albeit intercourse with their brethren of Judæa was constant and lasting. How far they were affected in their ideas and religious beliefs by their new surroundings, or to what degree they influenced the nations in whose midst they dwelt, will form no part of our programme; we will confine ourselves to notice that in the time covered by the Achemenides and Asmonæan princes their architecture preserved a strictly oriental character. Post exillic edifices must have been identical with those im-

mediately preceding that period, and were they in existence it would in all probability be difficult to differentiate them.

To resume, a clear exposition of the circumstances attending the erection of the temple will involve adumbrating the political, social, and sacred history of the people who built it. In its traditional form such a history is familiar to the general reader, and intimately connected with his earliest recollections. Nevertheless, we shall have to regard it from a different standpoint, so as to give it sense and sequence. We wish to be understood that it is foreign from our intention to wound the susceptibilities of believers of whatever denomination; but as historians our work would be stultified were we to ignore results based for the most part upon such an array of direct observations and proofs as to induce conviction and command the respect of the unprejudiced. We shall not enter into details, nor engage in arguments as to texts and the various interpretations of which they are susceptible. Readers anxious for greater development or desirous of testing our assertions one by one, may consult special works wherein the life of the Jewish people is brought home to them, as only the long, patient, exegetical study of our days could achieve.[1] From the beginning of this century a host of critics have made it the business of their lives to test and fix the probable date of the various books in the Bible; and apportion to each its relative value. We could not but take into account similar labours and researches; but whether the conclusions to which they have led be accepted or not, whether the Hebrew writings be taken literally or subjected to analytical methods, nobody will fail to be interested or to view with respect the temple which formerly stood on Mount Moriah, reduced to naught by the hand of man, but whose site is endeared alike to Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans.

[1] The work which we have mostly consulted is: *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, by DR. BERNARD STADE, Giessen University, of which three parts only have as yet appeared (September, 1886) in the *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, published under the direction of W. Oncken. The narrative brings the history down to Josaphat and Omri and is followed by a general review of the highest interest, which forms the seventh book of the series; headed: *Les Croyances et les Mœurs d'Israël avant le temps des prophètes.* Whatever of importance has been written on the subject will be found in Dr. Stade's work, remarkable for historical truth and acumen.

§ 2. *History of the Israelites and their Religion.*

The Israelites were possessed of no arts or even handicrafts until about the tenth century before our era; when by giving themselves a king and a capital, the conditions of their social life were modified, and a taste for luxury and the building of public and private edifices of a more or less sumptuous nature were thereby induced. Properly speaking, their history begins with the advent of monarchy; the days that went before are shrouded in obscure traditions of a mythical character; whilst the books dealing with this part of it were written centuries after the events they purpose to recount. Such books, moreover, were indited under the influence of ideas and beliefs which were at great variance with those of former generations. Their anonymous writers are unmindful, not to say utterly devoid of historical truth, in our sense of the word. A preconceived system is evident throughout their narrative; unconsciously and without premeditation on their part, they yield to the temptation of "touching up" and interpreting facts so as to fit them in with their "in petto" ideal theocratical government. Thus the evidence furnished by tradition, when pressed into service, is but to add and complete the chain of evidence set forth from their individual point of view. In conditions such as these the image of a remote past could not but be substantially altered. Fortunately for us, when they tried to fix in their texts traditionary fragments still afloat among the people, owing to the inadequacy of the compiler to imitate the language of an older epoch, and disguise the joining of the pieces, or smooth away contradictions and fuse the whole into an homogeneous mass, such fragments were incorporated as pieces into a mosaic, hence they are still recognizable, notably in the books that received their definitive form under the last kings of Judah, during the captivity, or immediately after it. Such contradictions are frequently noticeable from one chapter to another, and sometimes even from one verse to another. To a narrative presenting facts naturally and as they must have occurred, without transition or leading up of the part, there follows another, sometimes distinct, or interwoven with the main thread for the evident purpose of exalting some personage, or adding weight to the political or religious bias of the compiler; involving addition or retrenchment as the case might be. Here and there the touches reveal a light hand, which the acumen of

able critics can alone detect, but which would escape ordinary readers. Many, however, have long been discovered, and would have been pointed out long ago, had it not been for the general prejudice against applying to sacred history, the same methods that are current for secular writings.[1]

When, after minute analysis, the various elements have been designed and carefully classified according to their relative value, the following result is obtained: the Thothmes, Seti, Ramses, were the representatives of Egypt when in the zenith of her power. At that time there was to the north of Syria the great military empire of the Kheta or Hittites, which extended from the Orontes to the Euphrates; whilst central Syria divided it from Egypt, and was occupied by people of no great importance in the Eastern world.

We have stated elsewhere, how the Phœnicians, one of these groups, owing to their maritime position and peculiar genius, were the first to rise in the social scale and play an important part in history. We said that they had spread over the whole seaboard, Joppa, now Jaffa, being their southernmost harbour; but that, for unknown reasons, they had failed to seize that portion of the coast which lies between Joppa and the Egyptian *ouadi*, an arid tract which forms a natural boundary between Syria and the valley of the Nile. In this corner, bounded by both countries, were the Philistines, a people which have given rise to much argument; but all we know with regard to them is their being mentioned in the Old Testament as "Pelethites." The name, however, is not enlightening, for it means nothing more than strangers, foreigners, ἀλλόφυλλοι;[2] nor are we more advanced when we read in Amos[3] that they had originally come from Kaphtor; since this word has not been satisfactorily identified with Crete, as believed by most. Should this hypothesis be deemed feasible, then the Philistines

[1] No one has studied with more care, nor has shown with greater lucidity the contradictions of detail of Jewish writers than M. Kuenen, professor of Sacred History at the Faculty of Theology, Leyden University. His course of Lectures have been translated into French by A. Pierson, with a preface by E. Renan; under the title, *Hist. Crit. des Livres de l'Ancien Testament*, 2 vols. in-8°. 1866, M. Lévy. The publication of this work, together with the progress of Semitic philology and the mass of evidence that has come to hand, have had for result the establishing of obscure facts and a juster comprehension of doubtful and burning questions. His study upon the Pentateuch, which occupies the first half of vol. i., is a model of sound criticism.

[2] Some derive it from "wanderers," "immigrants."—EDITOR.

[3] *Deut.* ii. 23; *Jer.* xlvii. 4; *Amos* ix. 7.

would have been Semites, who, on being driven out of Crete by Greek colonists, returned to Syria after a lapse of some hundred years.[1] It has been variously held that the Philistines were of the same stock as the Phœnicians, against whom they often warred, and the Hebrews, whose life they made bitter. As we well know, community of blood and speech, forms no impediment to people when they wish to hate or quarrel with each other. Could this be doubted we have only to turn to the example furnished by Greece in the long, inveterate and bloody strife of her two leading cities; whilst parallel cases are found in the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages. Others, on the other hand, think that the Philistines were Aryans, related to the Greeks and Italiotes, a remnant, in fact, of the great confederacy of sea kings who, on being expelled from Egypt, dispersed in various directions, some returning to Asia Minor, the primitive home of the greater portion.[2] Be this supposition correct or not, there is no doubt as to the Philistines having possessed fortified towns, and of their having been bound together in some kind of defensive and offensive alliance. They were warlike, and had been familiar with manifold vicissitudes in their long wanderings, ere they became a settled people, and had been entrusted by the Pharaohs with the guard of the "Syrian march." Contact with Egypt, whether as friends or foes, had given them their main education; thus the knowledge of metals had been acquired, evinced in their well-wrought armour, and in the bronze-plated chariots in which their chiefs went forth to do battle.[3]

Sublying the Phœnicians and Philistines were the Canaanites, the "Amaur" of Egyptian inscriptions, and "Amorites" of the Bible.[4] They were already a settled people and occupied the region called later Palestine, bound to the east by the Dead Sea and the Jordan Valley. These Canaanites were divided into numerous clans, who spoke languages or dialects closely related

[1] Such an hypothesis receives colouring from the fact that the name Cherethites, or Cretans, seems to have lingered at one point of Philistia (1 *Sam.* xxx. 14); whilst the foreign bodyguard of David was composed of Cherethites and Pelethites. See also Survey Map of Exploration Fund, which shows Keratîya, whence Cherethites were named.—EDITOR.

[2] This is the opinion of M. Maspero, who confirms Hitzig's views by reference to Egyptian texts. Hitzig's work is entitled, *Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philister.* Leipzig, 1846.

[3] *Judg.* i. 18–20; 1 *Sam.* vi. 5; xiii. 19–21; xvii. 4–8.

[4] *Amos* ii. 9, 10; *Josh.* v. 1; vii. 7, etc.

to Hebrew and Phœnician. If in after days the Israelites, in setting up their genealogies, excluded them all from the glorious family of Sem and made them descend from Cham, such a proscription must be regarded as the outcome of national and religious pride or animosity.[1] Such lists, moreover, were made in an age of great inward ferment, when the Israelites strove with might and main for unity; eliminating from their midst usages and rites that had scarcely differentiated them from the surrounding nations —so as to become emphatically a peculiar people. To make the separation more complete and to mark the contemptuous estimation in which the Canaanites were held, they gave them, as forefather, a worthy prototype of such unclean idolaters.[2] This was natural; but has unfortunately given rise to erroneous ethnological theories, which are however contradicted by other passages in the Bible and epigraphs. Thus local and proper names, whether of men or gods, met with over the vast area stretching from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Syrian waste are Semitic, whilst at either end of this territory Phœnician inscriptions, as that of Mesha, king of Moab, for example, are so akin to Hebrew that Phœnician and Moabite may well be called dialects of the same.[3] The Canaanites were few in number, and agriculturists; amply provided with the necessaries of life, whilst their amicable intercourse with the dwellers of the coast had contributed not a little towards a certain degree of culture. Besides numerous straggling villages, they were possessed, not of townships in our sense, but of fortified boroughs seated on steep and precipitous cliffs; they wrought their domestic and war implements, and some tribes or clans had even chariots.[4] From their vantage ground, they must have viewed with contemptuous disdain the nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoral tribes confining to their domain; such as the Amalekites, Midianites, Ishmaelites, and Edomites inhabiting the Sinaitic peninsula, together with the Moabites and Ammonites beyond the Dead Sea and Jordan; albeit all were, like themselves, of the Semitic race. Jewish tradition admits for most of them this community of origin. It could not well be

[1] *Sem* (*Shem*), means "glory," hence the children of Sem are the exalted, noble, lords (STADE, *Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 110).

[2] *Gen.* x. 6. [3] *Josh.* vi., xi. 4.

[4] The Moabite stone and the Siloam inscription show us the Phœnician-like "character" of an earlier age. This character was originally common to Moabite, Phœnician, and Israelite—"Heth and Moab" (C. R. Conder).—EDITOR.

otherwise, for the Israelites had come from this very group, and to all outward appearance were exactly the same; not until much later, when they had crossed the Jordan and found the Canaanites in full possession of Palestine, were they to be distinguished from them. The name "Ibrîm," "Hebrews," "the people from the other side," *i.e.* beyond Jordan, by which the Israelites are henceforth known in history, dates from this time, and originated no doubt with the Canaanites.[1]

Nomadic tribes, even when they have begun to sow corn around their encampments, are often short of the first necessaries of life; when they must needs fall back upon the yields of their flocks. But these, in a warm and arid country like Syria, are at the mercy of drought, which may dry up all their springs and burn every blade of grass. Their existence, therefore, is precarious, and not proof against pinching want; hence the independence of which they boast is not so real as they would have it believed. In their heart they covet the condition of the tiller, certain of his daily food, however much they may affect to pity and despise him for tamely consenting to be riveted to his plot. The main object of the black-tent Arab is to deprive the labourer of his well-earned gains. His thoroughbred steed serves him well for the purpose; riding at full tilt, he swoops down and not unfrequently makes off with a year's produce. It often happens, however, that inroads, in which more is destroyed than carried away, have been foreseen and successfully repulsed. Then, here and there, the marauder tries his hand at husbandry; a few trees are planted to give shade to his movable goat-skin tent, and his plot increases from year to year to supply the growing wants of his family. Once started in this groove, his opportunities for wandering away become fewer; his presence is required for sowing, harvesting, and so forth; so that, not to be behind his neighbour, he builds himself a house.[2] A similar transformation is achieved in two generations, some-

[1] "Beyond the river" has been also referred to the Euphrates, whence the Israelites originally came; but a similar hypothesis, justly observes Stade, would be confusing since other people besides the Israelites crossed the Great River, whereas his suggestion, which we follow, presents no difficulty.

[2] How well I remember halting in the neighbourhood of Bolu (Prusias ad Hypiam), at the outskirts of the Agatch-Denizi forest of trees, among Kurdish shepherds who were gradually passing from nomadic to a settled life. They had cleared a glen, in which they sowed corn, and had their huts, whilst their herds grazed in the forest.

times, indeed, it is the work of a few years; but where the conditions of the soil are unfavourable, it is the reverse that takes place. In this case the herdsman, wishing to pasture his flocks in the green islands that he descries from afar, suddenly appears invading gardens and corn fields. Sharp affrays ensue; but as the intruder, though worsted, can burn down and otherwise destroy the toil of years, the settlers find it to their advantage to give up some fallow tracts, where the herds can be turned in, but which ere long are converted into ploughed fields.

To trace the fluctuating fortunes of the wandering Arab on one side, and the more peaceful settler on the other, in their constant hostility to each other, would be to write their history from the earliest days of their existence. The result of this perpetual strife is seen in the inward shifting of the line and the narrowing of the district under cultivation, south and eastward of Palestine. Under the Roman dominion the vast expanse interposed between Arabia, Petræa, Idumæa, and Palmyra was instinct with life—with villages and cities that testified to the thrift of their inhabitants. This region, where now man avoids the approach of man as his deadliest foe, was teeming with a population, whose wants were supplied by a rich soil. The tracts that the ploughshare had spared grazed numerous flocks, and the hum of many voices was heard where now solitude and silence reign supreme. The land was rich in wine and corn; in groves of palms, lentiscs, tamarisks, and laurestini; in towns astir with commerce and industry. Turkish rule, like a withering blast, has swept over the scene and destroyed that ancient civilization, leaving it more desolate than it was before the advent of the Asmonæan princes or Roman prætors, or in the time of the Amalekites and Ammonites. The voiceless waste is now the terror of the few travellers attracted thither by the remains of its mighty past. I myself witnessed the Bedawîn sheik, Akil-Agha, pitch his black tents to allow his herds to roam over the rich Plain of Esdraelon and the pleasant slopes of Galilee, where in former days rose a golden sea of waving corn.

The occupation of Palestine by the Hebrews was but one among the many conflicts waged in those regions between the tiller or "fellah," peasant (a term applied alike to Moslems and Christians), and the Bedawîn or herdsman. In itself it is but an insignificant episode, rendered important by Hebrew bards, who, in recounting the events of their early history, clothed them with the fervid

fancy of their genius, and exalted them into proportions that had no existence in reality; whilst the great work of redemption accomplished in Judæa has caused all nations professing Christianity to accept them as they are presented in the Sacred Writings. For if considered dispassionately and without reference to these peculiar circumstances, what remains? A few nomadic tribes from beyond Jordan, who successfully crossed the river in order to possess themselves of a much-coveted and desirable country, rich in corn and wine, in honey and milk; whose hills were clad with fig and olive and all manner of fruitful trees. Was the conquest carried out systematically and achieved in a short space of time, as we read in Joshua, written centuries after the immigration?[1] Against this theory, however, many a passage in Joshua, Samuel, the Judges, and Kings lead to quite a different solution of the manner in which was effected the establishment of the Israelites in the land of promise. Closer examination suggests doubts as to whether a conquest properly so called took place; for if the intruders had frequently to use violence in order to obtain a place in the land, at other times, slow and gradual advance among the older inhabitants and a mutual understanding were equally successful. Thus they were obliged to take Jericho after they crossed Jordan; but Judah went round the Dead Sea on the south, whilst Ephraim and Manasseh in the north penetrated into Galilee through numerous fords, and spread from stage to stage among the settled inhabitants. Once within the borders, they mixed with the Canaanites, frequented their sanctuaries, and adopted some of their traditions. In these favourable circumstances, their numbers quickly increased and enabled them to prosecute their onward progress, until they were arrested by the powerfully constituted confederacy of the Phœnicians and Philistines, masters of the sea-coast.

Most of the tribes followed on the trail made by the first detachments, and successfully occupied the table-land, still partly wooded, that extends between Horah of Jordan—el Ghôr—and the Mediterranean, as far north as Hermon, and south-west to the

[1] M. Kuenen, in his masterly survey of Joshua, has pointed out (tom. i. chap. ii.) the artificial nature and post-arrangement of the conquest, which he ascribes to a writer profoundly imbued with the Book of Deuteronomy. STADE (*Geschichte*, tom. i. pp. 64–66), although not in accord with Kuenen as to details and the date of the Book of Joshua, which he places in the days of Nehemiah, agrees in the main with him.

Arabian desert; whilst Gad and Reuben were content to wrest from the Moabites the grassy slopes of Gilead east of Jordan.

During the whole period covered by the immigration, there was nothing in these pastoral tribes, which appeared at various points, claiming a foothold in Palestine, to foreshadow the high destiny to which they were called; nor that they would constitute themselves into a nation.[1]

At the termination of their onward march, when each family had received an allotment, and houses had been erected from one end of Palestine to the other by the new-comers in and about the Canaanites, whom they failed to subdue until the advent of their kings,[2] what was it that prevented these adventitious intruders

[1] The only object of this historical summary is to show in what surroundings the temple of the Jews was built. Hence no reference is made to the Israelites prior to their settlement in the Holy Land, because, from our standpoint, the history of the patriarchs, the shorter or longer sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and their wanderings in the wilderness, form no part of our subject. Whether Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph be historical characters or heroic and traditional ancestors of the various clans of Israel, does not alter the intrinsic value or the interest which attaches to that charming picture of pastoral life. Nor shall we enter into a critical analysis of the special Genetic and Exodic narrative concerning the Israelites; for it is a task that has been effectually done by others. If, on the one hand, Egyptian paintings and inscriptions make it probable that a pastoral tribe, driven by famine from the Syrian waste, went to Egypt bearing tissues, skins, and frankincense to the governor of the Delta, in order to obtain corn (*Hist. of Art*, tom. i. p. 154, fig. 98); on the other, the abundant and detailed documents dealing with the period in which similar events are placed contain nothing that bears even a faint resemblance to the biblical account, as to Joseph's governorship, the alarming increase of the Israelites, Moses' career in Egypt, nor the plagues that determined the exodus. It would be important for us to know whether, as has often been advanced, the Israelites were initiated to industrial arts such as are depicted in the second book respecting the ark and the tabernacle, were it not demonstrated that the books containing similar descriptions date from the last days of the Jewish monarchy. On the other hand, frequent passages in Judges, Samuel, and Kings make it evident that down to David, and even Solomon, the Israelites had not advanced beyond the rudimentary crafts known to pastoral tribes or peasantry. Had they been able to execute in the wilderness high-class tapestry, wood and stone work graven and carved, they would not have turned to Phœnicia when they built temple and palaces. Fancy rather than recollection prompted the Jewish writer when he wrote his glowing and minute descriptions; for those Semitic pastors returned from Egypt as untutored as when driven thither by famine. They left it because of the exactions of some local functionary, just as greedy under the Pharaohs as he is under the Khedive; but without having penetrated beyond the eastern margin of the Delta. If the Jewish mind was influenced by Egypt, it was through Phœnicia in the days of the monarchy, and the Egyptian details observable in the temple were due to Hiram's builders and artificers.

[2] "Israel" signifies "God's warrior," and at the outset was probably an honorific name.

from being swallowed up by the older inhabitants, who, at the outset must have been their superiors in every respect? What was the moral link that bound together the various members of the Hebrew family; which was drawn tighter from year to year and resulted in political oneness? The consciousness of a common origin and common traditions would not have sufficed; something more was required, and this was found in community of creed and religious rites. In olden days the parent tribe had held the Sinaitic peninsula, where, in places, water and grass abound. Here Moses, their great prophet and religious reformer, revealed unto them Jehovah. Whether he was the real founder of Jewish religion, or whether, as seems not unlikely, he borrowed the first elements from the Midianites and Kenites, matters little. How much or how little he may have derived from older sources, it is impossible to ascertain; as it is impossible to gauge how much of his own genius was infused into it, except that his towering figure well deserves to head their early records. With him and through him the Hebrews first knew Jehovah; he it was who taught them to put their trust in Him; to fear him as the God of hosts, of thunder and lightning; who was pleased to dwell on the summits of Sinai and Horeb, and subsequently in various sanctuaries of Canaan, until, towards the latter part of their political existence, He had but one habitation—the temple of Jerusalem.[1] It would be a vain and thankless task that should try to unravel historical from legendary elements surrounding the grand outlines of a character who has been credited with a whole literature containing documents and dates widely different in value; as it would be hard to believe that a name which has ever been held in deep reverence by the Israelites is but shadowy, and rests on no sure foundation.

Once established on the right bank of the Jordan, the Israelites were brought in incessant contact with the Philistines, Phœnicians, and Canaanites. The strips of land where they had settled were as so many dots on the territory of the older inhabitants, in whose cities they sometimes lived side by side.[2] Numbers intermarried

[1] The various traditions recorded in the Old Testament, whilst varying as to names, are all agreed in making Moses the son-in-law of the high priest of one of the Arabian tribes of the peninsula.—STADE, *loc. cit.*, tom. i. pp. 130, 131.

[2] The opening passage in *Judges* (i.–ii. 5) would of itself prove our assertion, without calling to our aid the circumstantial evidence scattered in abundance up and down Judges and Kings, and which may be read between the lines.

with Canaanite women, who introduced in their new homes the images and cultus of their gods. Under similar circumstances, the frequent backslidings of the Israelites are not difficult to understand; they were brought about by timorous anxiety and desire to propitiate local deities, lest neglect of their altars should kindle their wrath against them. Hence they sacrificed to all the gods and goddesses, to Moloch and Astarte; but this mode of action diminished in no way their firm belief that Jehovah was mightier than all the other gods put together. Had not His thunder been heard by their forefathers on Mount Sinai? had He not led them through the wilderness to a "land flowing with milk and honey," where every man could "sit down in peace and plenty, under his vine and fig tree"?[1] In those early days, therefore, such infidelities were rather on the surface, and not viewed as unfavourably as they were afterwards by priests and prophets. Their return to the "God of Israel" was always sure to follow; the name by which they called upon Him distinguished them from among their neighbours, and made them the children of one Father. But for this patronymic and religious bond, they would have been confused and lost among the Canaanites.

A very erroneous impression obtains for this period of Jewish history, due in part to "retouchings" of the biblical account, as well as to inattentive reading; for it should be borne in mind that the various tribes, separated by bands of Canaanites, lived almost as strangers, and were often at war with one another, without contending against their common enemies, who hemmed them in on every side, and from whom they tried to wrest the land to bring it under cultivation, or to pasture their herds. Great misapprehension, too, generally prevails with regard to the chiefs, or "sheiks," called "judges," from *shophet* or *kasim*, by the Hebrew writer. No doubt that some, through their energy and intelligence, whether as champions or councillors, rose to prominent positions, and were regarded as leaders; their following, however, was never large, and was confined to their native districts. When bands of roaming Arabs suddenly appeared and made a raid upon the country, the whole population gathered immediately around the chief likely to bring the expedition to a successful issue ere the foe was beyond the Jordan. Once the pursuit had been brought to a satisfactory close, peace settled once more over the

[1] 1 *Kings* iv. 25.

black tent or over the roofs of the tribes; and when disputes arose they were settled by elders, or "sekenim," who sat within the gates of the city. Whichever way the eye may wander in trying to reconstruct the history of this period, nought is seen but wavering, weakness, and internal division. To these evils were added others from without. The example of the Israelites was followed by people beyond Jordan, who pressed forward with the avowed purpose of despoiling them of the territory they had gained. The Hebrews were obliged, therefore, to keep on the watch and on the defensive. Successfully to face both Philistines and inroads from the waste; to change their position into one of attack, and make themselves masters of the whole country,—it became a matter of necessity to obey one chief. An undercurrent from north to south, or, as the Bible has it, "from Dan to Beersheba," had been known long before the advent of Saul, accounted the first King of Israel. But various causes had prevented these early glimmerings from being carried into effect. Foremost among these should be placed the claims of rival clans, and the petty jealousies of local magnates. Gideon, after his victories over the Midianites, had wielded almost sovereign power over Manasseh, and set up an ephod or sanctuary in his own town of Ophrah.[1] But the ascendency he had acquired was lost by his son Abimelech. The force of circumstances, no less than the march of events, led to and made personal government indispensable, in order to oppose the Philistines, who, no longer content with their narrow borders, aspired to extension of territory. Favoured by their fortified cities of Gaza, Askalon, and Ashdod, behind whose walls they could retire after successful raids, and defy the pursuers, they had plundered Sidon, and thrust back Benjamin and Judah towards the Salt Sea.

Under the pressure of ever-increasing danger, Saul, a warlike Benjamite, had been made king. His success over the Amalekites and Ammonites, south and east, had pointed him out from among a host of others. He was at first no less successful with the Philistines, whom he defeated on several occasions,[2] albeit he was finally overthrown. His action had, nevertheless, been useful in showing his countrymen that the dread foe, with superior armour and war-chariots, could be beaten. This auspicious result had been brought

[1] Read the interesting chapter in which STADE endeavours to reconstruct the history of Gideon (*Geschichte*, tom. i. pp. 181–191).

[2] 1 *Sam.* xiv. 52.

about by means of a small standing army, recruited from Israelites and foreigners. These soldiers by profession served to enlist and bring into discipline the raw material that in times of great necessity was furnished by the whole nation. Saul was the first who succeeded in binding together in a common cause, from north to south, the main tribes, numbering Ephraim, Manasseh, Judah, and Benjamin. His statecraft, with an army to support it, was continued on a much larger scale by his more fortunate successor.

David was eminently qualified by nature as well as by circumstances to fill the place left vacant by the death of Saul, and rescue the country from the critical position in which the disaster on Mount Gilboa had placed it. The high post he had filled in the army of Saul had brought him into notice, and rendered him popular with his own tribe of Judah. When later he had been obliged to take to the wilderness in order to escape the jealous hatred of the king, he had successively headed a lawless band and become the host and ally of the Philistines. His perils and hair-breadth escapes, the genius he displayed in adverse fortune, his adventures and exploits, had surrounded his name with the halo and the poetry of a hero of romance.[1] His first care was directed to the formation of an army, levied from the whole mass of the people, and commanded severally by his old trusty companions, as well as Saul's and Jonathan's officers. We know that he used his army to carry on incessant war against the Philistines, albeit the various events and incidents of his campaigns have not come down to us; but there is no doubt as to his having subdued them and compelled them to acknowledge his supremacy. This brilliant achievement enabled him to devote his attention to matters near home. Hitherto he had lived at Hebron, to the extreme south of Hebrew territory, on the march of the Canaanites, far remote from the land of Ephraim and the northern tribes, which ill brooked submitting to a man of the small tribe of Judah. To facilitate his journeys among his new subjects, yet not wishing to remove from his own tribe, on whose staunch loyalty he could always rely, he selected the insignificant city of the Jebusites, easy of defence, and which, under the name of Jerusalem, has been and still is endeared to all men.

The Jebusites were a small clan of the Canaanite stock; and

[1] With regard to David's kingdom and its vast extension, see 2 *Sam.* viii. to the end.—EDITOR.

owing partly to the nature of the ground they held, and partly to the inner turmoils and divisions of the Hebrews, they had not been dislodged from the position they occupied between Judah and Benjamin. Two ancient roads connected the little city with the outer world—the one ran through Hebron, Bethlehem, and Shechem, towards the north of Palestine; whilst the other started from Joppa, as it does now, and led to Jericho and the Jordan valley.[1] The place was consequently of the highest importance from a strategical standpoint. With very little effort, it could be made strong enough to successfully resist the assaults of the enemy. As for the Jebusites, they paid for the error of believing too easily that deep ravines and perpendicular rocks were sufficient proof against the well-directed missiles of an able captain like David. Once master of Mount Zion, the highest of the three hills on which Jerusalem is built, he strengthened and added to its means of defence.[2] His next care or ambition was to build himself a house; for the roofing, lining, and wainscoting of which cedar-wood was furnished by Hiram, King of Tyre.[3] Notwithstanding divergence of religion, the Israelites seem to have lived on amicable terms with the Phœnicians. Such relations were drawn closer with the establishment of royalty; brought about, it may be, by the necessity of joint action against their common enemies, the Philistines. These were possessed of havens for safe anchorage, and might at any moment have ships of their own. The war, therefore, waged against them by Saul and David was viewed favourably by Tyre and Sidon; they could only rejoice that the restless proclivities of the Philistines should be diverted from their gates, and themselves freed of a troublesome neighbour. No such danger was to be apprehended from the Israelites. Even in the days of their greatest power, the idea of seizing the strong-walled cities of the sea-coast, whose ships secured them against the horrors of famine, cannot have entered their minds. Added to this, the forces of the Israelites were inadequate to investing and laying siege to cities, which not all the hosts and war-engines of Assyria were able to reduce. On the other hand, before the

[1] These were the old Hittite routes; one, from their city, Zoan, in Egypt, went through Hebron and other places to the north of Syria; whilst the other was the Damascus road, on which St. Paul travelled, leading to the Euphrates, and their northern capital Carchemish.—EDITOR.

[2] 2 *Sam.* v. 9.

[3] 2 *Sam.* v. 11.

ambitious gaze of the Phœnicians loomed the boundless horizons of the West, which they were free to use as they wished. Hence their attention towards Central Syria was confined to securing free access to marts of trade, and having no impediment placed upon their caravans. The friendly alliance with the Israelites afforded them all these advantages with little cost to themselves; since they kept down the Philistines, and had a sharp outlook towards the Syrian waste; whilst they were valuable as consumers and producers. What the Israelites did not manufacture at home, be it tissues, jewellery, art furniture, war and domestic implements, came from Phœnicia; who in exchange purchased grain, stock, fruit, balm, and slaves captured in some expeditions against the tribes of Peræa.

The position that David, with the instinct that marks a great statesman and which is seldom absent from the founder of a dynasty, secured for his native land by his alliance with King Hiram cannot well be over-estimated.[1] A similar alliance, publicly avowed, could not but benefit the young kingdom. The self-respect of the Israelites, too, was flattered at the regard shown to their sovereign by potentates who were supposed to own numberless islands and vast regions in the far shadowy West. For the first time, a Hebrew chief was surrounded with the pomp and state befitting his rank and power. Like Gideon, he desired to build a sanctuary to the Lord, as an earnest of his gratitude; in that He had stood by him and saved him from so many perils; and that he might consult Him and offer Him frequent sacrifices, he wished the new edifice to be near his own house. To this end the ark of the covenant was brought with great solemnity to Jerusalem; but the project so fondly cherished could not be carried out, and the ark was placed in his own city of Zion.[2] The reason for the delay in building the temple is given by Solomon, in the following words: "David could not build an house unto the Name of the Lord his God, for the wars which were about him on every side, until the Lord put them under the soles of his feet. But now the Lord hath given me rest on every side."[3]

Such wars, however, had brought rest to the kingdom; whilst its boundaries had been extended beyond the wildest dreams of the former reign. The region comprised between Hamath,

[1] STADE, *Geschichte*, tom. i. pp. 141, 142. [2] 2 *Sam.* vi., vii. 2, 3.
[3] 1 *Kings* v. 2, 4.

Damascus, and the Euphrates on the one side, and Arabia Petræa on the other, owned his sway, and paid him tribute in money and men.[1] Philistia, though preserving its independence, acknowledged his suzerainty; and his body-guard was composed of Ammonites, Moabites, Philistines, and Hittites.[2] Notwithstanding the drain upon the resources of the country consequent on a standing army and continuous warfare, David at his death left a full treasury.[3]

Popular fancy has sought to establish a parallel between the warrior-king, David, and the man of peace Solomon; but the antithesis will not bear close inspection;[4] for if Solomon did not actually conduct wars himself, he kept his army employed in reducing to obedience the Canaanite tribes ever ready for an affray; and in constructing lines of defence on all his frontiers.[5] If towards the north and south he abandoned some of David's conquests,[6] he was none the less the dreaded and powerful sovereign of Central Syria.[7] Few figures have suffered as much as Solomon at the hands of his admiring chronicler, or have had their outlines more magnified and distorted beyond recognition. The little that is known of his life makes it extremely difficult to bring his figure within reasonable dimensions, so as to seize upon some of its most salient characteristics. He was essentially, and to a remarkable degree, an Eastern potentate. He began his reign in true Oriental fashion, by putting to death all those who were likely to give him trouble; but not being cruel by nature, once his apprehensions for his safety were removed, no other blood stained his hands during the remainder of his reign. He was a despot, but he used his power wisely. Whilst surrounded by a numerous harem, a large retinue of attendants, and all the pomp and circumstance of an Asiatic monarch, he yet kept the general direction of affairs in his own hands; his servants, whom he knew how to choose, referred to him on all important matters;

[1] 2 *Sam.* viii., xi., xii. 26, 31; xxi. 15, 22.

[2] 2 *Sam.* viii. 18; xi. 3; xxiii. 8–39; 1 *Chron.* xi. 10–47.

[3] The sums of money enumerated (1 *Chron.* xxii. 14) are, of course, greatly exaggerated. They serve, nevertheless, to show the impression left on the public mind of the great conqueror's opulence; and many passages scattered through 2 *Sam.* viii., reveal the rich booty in precious metals and worked objects amassed during his adventitious career.

[4] STADE, *Geschichte*, tom. i. pp. 301–303.

[5] 1 *Kings* ix. 20–22, 15–19.

[6] 1 *Kings* xi. 14–25.

[7] 1 *Kings* iv. 7–20; v. 1–6.

and as the lowest of his subjects had free access to him, their grievances could be easily redressed.

The space of time intervening between Saul and Solomon is but a few years; yet how far removed it seems from the days when a kid or a measure of wine was deemed a fitting present to the ruler of Israel![1] On all public occasions, be it a national festivity or on state days, when the privileged among his subjects or strangers are ushered into his august presence, Solomon is never seen save surrounded by an imposing retinue. The effect of similar receptions is enhanced by the amplitude and wealth of ornamentation of the architectonic setting. Conspicuous among the number of noble buildings stands out the temple, which he began to build in the third year of his reign, and dedicated to Jehovah in the eleventh.[2] His palace, no less massive, no less rich in beautiful ornamentation, adjoins the house of the Lord, eliciting the admiration of the beholder by its spacious courts, the number of its private and public apartments, its lofty hypostyle halls, its vast stores and frequent pavilions reserved for thousands of women composing his harem, among which figures an Egyptian princess.

The people had been heavily taxed to defray the stupendous expenses incurred by these edifices and the gorgeous magnificence of his court. The country had been divided into circuits, which were to "nourish" the royal household in turn during part of the year; and furnish press-gangs for prosecuting the works at Jerusalem and in Lebanon under the supervision of Government officials.[3] Hiram had placed the cedar and fir trees of his forests at the disposal of Solomon; together with convoy-ships, skilful artificers, for the dressing of wood and stone, and the graving and casting of metals. Twenty cities in Galilee and a yearly tribute of wheat and oil had been yielded in exchange to the Prince of Tyre.[4] These burdens caused much disaffection, and prepared the revolt that took place under Rehoboam, 929, A.C., when the rebellious leader, Jeroboam, was proclaimed King of

[1] 1 *Sam.* xvi. 20. [2] 1 *Kings* vi. 37, 38.

[3] The passages dealing with the works under notice state that enforced labour bore upon "all Israel" (1 *Kings* v. 27); whilst a little further (1 *Kings* ix. 20, 22) it is as formally laid down that similar gangs were recruited among the Canaanites. Such discrepancy between the two statements is reconcilable on the supposition that when Solomon became aware of the discontent he was creating among his people, he confined similar measures solely to the Canaanites.

[4] 1 *Kings* v. 25; ix. 10, 14.

Israel. He made the old Canaanite and later Ephraimite Shechem his capital; Judah alone remaining loyal to David and his posterity.[1] Thus was effected the "schism of the ten tribes" (which, to be accurate, should be called "schism of the eleven"), when the unity initiated by Saul and completed by David and Solomon was destroyed for ever, and the political aspirations of the country suddenly brought to a standstill. Cut asunder, weakened by the war that immediately broke out between the rival kingdoms, all that had been gained by David and his champions was irretrievably lost by internecine wars that continued for some generations.

The conquered regions to the north and east of Syria, the Aramæan tribes, and the kingdom of Damascus, that had owned the suzerainty of Solomon, refused to pay tributes on the morrow of the schism. Under the leadership of able princes, such as Benhadár and his successors, Damascus would undoubtedly have brought within her rule the whole of Palestine, had not her forces been diverted to checking the advance of the Assyrians repeatedly encamped before her gates; who, not content to ravage the gardens and groves that cast a green belt around the city, finally laid siege and obliged her to surrender. The kings of Nineveh, wishing for an outlet on the Mediterranean, pushed their conquests on to Phœnicia, and were met on the march by the Israelites, who tried, but in vain, to arrest their progress. Samaria, despite its position and the thickness of its walls, was taken and destroyed, whilst its inhabitants were, almost to a man, transported to the valleys of the Chebar and of Euphrates.

If Judah lasted for more than one hundred years longer, it was not owing to its military strength; but rather because the route taken by the invaders, from the Nile or Euphrates valley, lay outside it; hence Jerusalem was able to stand aloof from the tremendous conflict that was being enacted by the two great powers striving for supremacy in the eastern world. The stability of the

[1] This is formally attested in a passage (1 *Kings* xii. 20) which has scarcely received the attention it deserves: "There was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only." Benjamin, from whom Saul had sprung, was, as a natural consequence, most hostile to David, and formed part of the Northern kingdom down to its fall, with the exception of a few families whose land was close to Jerusalem. When Samaria was taken, such of the Benjamites that were not carried into captivity, cast in their lot with the kingdom of Judah, as the sole remnant of Jewish nationality. This circumstance has led late writers to assume somewhat too hastily that amicable relations had always existed between the two tribes.

government which remained in the family of David for three hundred and fifty years, was too a factor of no small importance in the attitude of strict neutrality and reserve observed by her rulers, many of which died peacefully and full of years. Thus precedents and traditional rules were handed down from one generation to another; alliances thoughtfully prepared by the father were adhered to by his successors; whilst their outward policy never aspired beyond trying to repossess themselves of Idumæa and of its harbours on the Red Sea.[1]

Not so with the kingdom of Israel, which under Omri, his sons, grandsons, and Jeroboam II., won back, for the most part, the position it had enjoyed under David and Solomon. The sanguinary tragedies which for two hundred years followed on every new accession to the throne, frustrated the action of Omri and Jehu, the only rulers of Israel who founded dynasties, and whose sons succeeded them for four or five generations respectively. The sudden changes and wholesale murders of kings and their chief officials created fierce enmities, fresh massacres, and internal convulsions, that must have been among the main causes that hastened the dissolution and the downfall of an empire undermined by enemies from within and from without.

The puny kingdom of Judah had doubtless its hours of peril and anguish; on the whole, however, and as compared with Israel, peace and tranquillity were found within its borders. Its loyalty and passionate devotion to the race of David were its best preservative; for secure in its existence, the mind was free to soar to the highest regions of pure fancy. Even in the days when gloom and distress seemed greatest, Judah was not left comfortless. The promise made to David and his people, that their posterity should possess the uttermost parts of the world, buoyed them up to bear present evils, aided too by the sublime and exquisite accents of native bards, revealed in the older psalms and frequent passages of the prophets. To Jerusalem must be ascribed the perfection to which the Hebrew language attained, and the creation of the masterpieces of its literature, not only because she was older in date and had a longer existence than Samaria, as that the master-brain of her spiritual leaders was reflected in that of her inhabitants; Jerusalem was a head centre in the highest and best sense of the word. The very exiguity of the kingdom was favourable

[1] 1 *Kings* xxii. 48–50; 2 *Kings* xiv. 7, 22.

to the intellectual development of the capital, for she need fear no rival within the narrow sphere of the country. What Athens was to Attica, Jerusalem was to Judæa; outside were country and villages, but all intellectual and moral existence centred in her. Owing to her singularly privileged condition, the size of Jerusalem went on increasing under successive princes; nor was she affected by the fall of Samaria, save in so far as that the number of her inhabitants must have been swelled by many an influential Israelitish household that fled to her for shelter. It is presumable, therefore, that at her final overthrow by Nebuchadnezzar, she numbered at least twenty thousand souls.[1] Already under Solomon the town had extended to the west, beyond the ancient fortifications of the Jebusites; a wall connecting the new suburbs with the "City of David."[2] With regard to Solomon's palace, no need was there to add to its size, far exceeding the needs of the petty princes that had succeeded to the ruler of all Syria, whose household expenditure had to be brought within the limits of their much diminished revenue. On the other hand, to satisfy the increasing religious fervour of the people, the magnificence of sacred ceremonies became greater and the ritual more complicated. New buildings arose on every side, spacious courts and lofty porticos were multiplied to accommodate the priesthood and the throngs of the faithful. Similar structures, however, were too insignificant to have stimulated independent art; so that the architecture and ornamentation of this period must have been, as of yore, under the influence of Phœnicia, with which Judah and Israel continued on intimate terms, as may be inferred from the fact of two queens of Tyrian origin, Jezebel and Athaliah, having reigned in Samaria and Jerusalem. These princesses introduced in their

[1] This may be inferred from a passage (2 *Kings* xxiv. 14) stating that Nebuchadnezzar carried away all the mighty men of valour, 10,000 captives, and all the craftsmen, so that none remained but the poor of the land. A little further, another version says that 7000 men of valour, and 1000 craftsmen were obliged to migrate. The rank and file that were left must have been the third of the whole population, which, with women and children, may have summed about 15,000. In all such computations it should be borne in mind that at the time of the siege, there must have been a large floating population which had sought shelter within the walls of the city. The number, however, of 30,000 or 35,000 inhabitants, implied in the biblical narrative, must be set aside as too high. We shall not be far wrong at setting it down at about 24,000 souls. The quarters that were comprised within the south wall of circumvallation and destroyed in the Middle Ages have not been rebuilt.

[2] 1 *Kings* ix. 15; 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 9, 10; xxxii. 5; xxxiii. 14.

new countries, together with the cultus of the Tyrian Baal (Melkarth), Phœnician artificers, thus continuing the traditions initiated by Solomon in the building and beautifying of extensive works. Despite the narrow limits of the kingdom, opportunities were not wanting the Israelites for exercising the knowledge they had acquired; whether in raising fresh structures to meet the demands of a population on the increase, or in repairing and extending constructions around the temple and the walls that begirt the city. Jewish technical skill at this time was not contemptible, since "craftsmen and smiths" were included with "the men of might," that were transported to Babylon.[1]

Had the internal affairs of Assyria permitted following up her victories, another expedition, like that of Sennacherib against Jerusalem, must have worked her destruction almost on the same day as that of Samaria. The rapid decay and downfall of the Ninevite empire (625 B.C.), however, gave Judah a short respite, until the beginning of the fifth century B.C., when Babylon occupied the place vacated by the Sargonides, and when the pretensions of the Saïte princes upon Syria, which had been an Egyptian province under the Theban dynasty, brought the armies of the two great powers to the plains of Judæa. The chariots of Egypt had been too long the terror of the Israelites to allow them to discriminate between the rival parties and to perceive that Chaldæa was in the ascendant. They fought on the losing side. Jerusalem was surrounded and obliged to surrender after a siege of eighteen months. What had escaped the Assyrian war-engines was destroyed by fire; the sacred utensils of the temple were taken, the better portion of the people scattered in the cities of Chaldæa, the land given to the peasantry, and Judæa inscribed as a province of Babylon 586 B.C.

The existence of the Israelites as a nation was ended. A certain amount of independence was seen later under the Asmonæan princes, but their action was on too narrow a field to be taken into historic account. The work begun in Palestine by the prophets, notably in Jerusalem by Isaiah, the greatest of all, was continued on a grander sphere in the cities of their exile; be it on the Euphrates, the Tigris, or the Nile. It is a work that ranks among the most stupendous efforts ever accomplished by man, and which may be defined as the long inner working of the Jewish mind ere it awoke to the inadequacy of sacrifices and burnt offerings, cul-

[1] 2 *Kings* xxiv. 16.

minating in the glorious declaration that "to be just and do well," are better than sacrifice or strict observance of the law." The boldness and spirituality of similar ideas once attained could not be arrested in their course; translated at first by a dim perception of the narrow concept of a national God, it ere long saw, albeit imperfectly, one whose arms were long enough to enfold all the nations of the earth; it was the presentiment of the radical change that was to do away with the old world, substituting for the special worships of the Gentiles the all-embracing religion of Christ.[1]

This is not the place to study the progress or to note the stages of ideas once set in motion; all we wish to say is that they had their birth with the people whose history we have essayed to summarize. The Jewish mind was formed and acquired its serious and meditative turn in the school of adversity. Under their great kings, David and Solomon, they had tasted the sweets that power brings with it; to these days of brilliant prosperity had followed the dismemberment and the loss of their dominion, together with civil and foreign wars, the inroads of Aramæan, Assyrian, and Chaldæan hordes, and finally, the destruction of Samaria and Jerusalem. Each fresh disaster that fell upon the ambitious aspirations of the Israelites caused them anxiously to inquire why the Lord had so afflicted His people. To this question the prophets answered, that it was because of their infidelities, and of their not having served Jehovah in singleness and purity of heart. To the more noble, this resulted in what we should call a fresh "revival," when every nerve was strained after a good and perfect life. But nothing seemed to avail; the outer gloom thickened; their straits and woes unutterable were multiplied; the noble sanctuary fell, and they themselves were dispersed to the four winds of heaven. It was then that the vanities and glories of this world gave way to the expectation of the future reserved for Israel; called to the honour of bringing all the people of the earth "to go up to the mountain of Jehovah, to the house of the God of Jacob, and to walk in the light of the Lord.[2]

[1] This question has been treated by M. KUENEN in his *Religion Nationale et Universelle, Islam, Israélitisme, Judaisme, Christianisme, et Budhisme, cinq Lectures faites à Oxford sous la patronage de la fondation Hibbert*, 1882; traduit du Hollandais par Maurice Vernes, 1 vol. in-8°. Leroux, 1884. The second, third, and fourth Lectures are severally entitled: *La Religion Nationale des Israélites, Prêtres et Prophètes de Iahvé; L'Universalisme des Prophètes; L'Etablissement du Judaisme; Judaisme et Christianisme.*

[2] *Isa.* ii. 2, 3, 4.

This dream of a handful of men, prophets and popular leaders, who from their exalted platform looked down upon sublunary matters with disdainful scorn, must have seemed as a mad desire never to be realized by the well-meaning, respectable classes that number stronger in all communities, whose limited understanding was incapable of grasping the idea that their souls could be saved by aught but abundant sacrifice and outward ceremony. A similar conception of their religious duties was not confined to the Jews alone; it was shared by all the tribes surrounding them; and the only difference for centuries between Canaanite and Israelite had been the name of the god on whom they called. As might be expected, the priestly order turned to its own account the straitened condition in which the people was placed; its influence increased as that of the sovereign grew less. At the outset a Levite had been attached to the head of the clan, and afterwards the king; but his tenure of office had depended on the will of the latter.[1] After David and Solomon, however, the chief "cohen" or minister of the temple had assumed the title of "high priest," and become the directing power of a numerous priesthood, whether as expounders of the law, sacrificers, or servants addicted to the service of the sanctuary. The high priest was on terms of close relationship with the scribes, the royal and civil secretaries, in whose keeping were the law as well as the private and public deeds. Through them he acted and controlled public opinion. Chronicles grew under his dictation, reflecting the life and mode of government of the Israelites from a sacerdotal standpoint. "I have found the book of the law," says Hilkiah to the scribe Shaphan, as he hands him over the scroll. It is read to King Josiah and to the people as a new revelation, and a religious reform is the result.[2] One who stands forth as God's messenger of Divine truth to his people must acquire paramount authority. Thus the high priest Jehoiada removes Athaliah, and places the boy Joash upon the throne; whilst Hilkiah, a little later, governs during the long minority of Josiah.

Here and there sovereigns tried to hem in the tide of such encroachments; thus, for instance, Joash ordered the death of the high priest, Zachariah, son of Jehoiada, to whom he had been in-

[1] 1 *Kings* ii. 26, 27.

[2] It is easy to recognize the "second law" of Deuteronomy in this new book of the covenant; instinct with a spirit of pietism so well in harmony with the surroundings in which it was drawn up.

debted for his crown.[1] But, as a rule, they worked together and strengthened the hands of each other. To the priests was due the notion that sacrifices acceptable to Jehovah were to be offered at Jerusalem and in the temple, an idea that more than anything else banded the people together, and kept them loyal to the house of David. It was an innovation; for in olden times Jehovah had been sought under every spreading tree, on every peak, or crag, or high place.[2] Solomon had gone to Gibeon to sacrifice a thousand oxen, "for that was the great high place."[3] These sanctuaries, known to the people from time immemorial, could not be suddenly deprived of their sacred character, because it had pleased Solomon to build himself a temple. He knew better than to think that the powerful northern tribes of Gad, Manasseh, and Ephraim would consent to give up their time-honoured shrines in order to sacrifice at Jerusalem, which would entail a long, tedious journey. The new temple, therefore, brought no change in the outward religious observances of the nation until the schism, as may be inferred by frequent passages in Kings, deeply imbued, though they be, with what has been called Deuteronomism. No one reading the speech and mystical prayer placed in the mouth of Solomon at the dedication of the temple, can fail to observe that, albeit much stress is laid upon the blessings that will accrue to the Israelites when they pray to Jehovah, their faces turned towards the temple, no allusion is made as to the obligation of sacrificing uniquely at Jerusalem.[4] After the schism, when the righteous wrath of Elijah and Elisha is kindled against the Canaanite practices of Ahab and other idolatrous princes, they are not reproved for not "going up to Jerusalem to worship," but for having forsaken the God of Jacob. Does not the example of Elijah on Mount Carmel repudiate the idea of any such restriction, when he triumphantly shows to the assembled Israel that his sacrifice has been accepted by Jehovah, since He has sent His fire to consume the victim?[5] In this and analogous passages no reference is made to Jerusalem or the temple; the writer, carried away by his admiration for the man of God, whose miracles he recounts, is unconscious of the real nature of Ephraimite traditions, and that they do not always harmonize with the other details of his picture.

With Judah matters took a very different course; the very

[1] 2 *Chron.* xxiv. 21, 22. [2] 1 *Kings* xiv. 23. [3] *Ibid.*, iii. 4.
[4] *Ibid.*, viii. [5] *Ibid.*, xviii.

smallness of its territory precluded multitudinous places being enshrined by old traditions. Had there been, however, their distance from the capital was never sufficiently great to allow them to compete with the more important shrine, surrounded by the pomp and circumstance to be found at the seat of government. Hence the ease with which the people were won over to pay their devotions at Jerusalem. We can easily guess the change that quickly supervened. At the outset the temple had been an appendage of the palace, and its priest a royal chaplain, who, as such, came to be regarded as the chief of his order.[1] What more natural than that he should have used the opportunities afforded him by his position and surroundings to increase the number and magnificence of religious festivities, so as to induce the Israelites more and more to frequent the holy precincts. To keep pace with the multitudes that ere long daily thronged the courts of the temple, bringing rich offerings with them, part of which was devoted to repairing or building new houses for the priests, the number of officials was increased.[2] From the porter to the Levite, who sat next to the high priest, they all acknowledged the supremacy of the latter—a supremacy which at times was second to none in the State. By making offices hereditary, the high priest created a sacerdotal class, that lived by the temple and about the temple, he keeping in his own hands the general direction of affairs, watching over the interests of the community with that spirit of order and sequence frequently seen in churchmen.

Religious unity, that dream of priests and seers of Judah, was realized under the "king of priests," Josiah; when Hilkiah cleared the temple of the altars and images, and destroyed the high places of the Baalim in Judæa, defiling them "so that no man should again sacrifice there."[3] It is not improbable that in the thirty years or more that preceded the fall of Jerusalem, many a demolished altar was rebuilt, and many a victim surreptitiously sacrificed to the "host of heaven." Nevertheless, the ceremony that had taken place in the temple, when the law had been read to the assembled multitude, amid the adjurations of king and high priest on the one hand, and the vows of the congregation on the other, to obey no other God but the God of Jacob, in the

[1] 1 *Kings* ii. 35.

[2] 2 *Kings* xxii. 3, 7.

[3] The mention of "unleavened bread," eaten by the priests amidst their brethren, indicates that priests of Jehovah and not of Baal are intended.

temple he had himself selected, had not been in vain. The sanctuary came to be regarded as the emblem and outward sign of Jewish religion, the place Jehovah had fixed for an everlasting habitation, and where alone the covenant made with his people would be renewed. It had become, in fact, the rallying-point for all those, no matter of what tribe, who had not bowed the knee before Baal. In the space of time between Josiah and "the extreme of abomination," the temple had become endeared to all classes in a way that had been unknown in the days of Solomon. It formed the topic of their conversation in their forced marches, under the scorching rays of noontide, to the land of exile; as afterwards in their secret meetings in the low quarters outside the walls of Memphis or Babylon, when their whisperings were of the absent country, of the beautiful temple they were wont to frequent, of the multitudes that thronged its precincts, of the altars where they had found comfort and relief for their disappointed hopes.

Not content with memory alone, in those day-dreams projected in the future to escape from present straits, they rebuilt in imagination the temple of Solomon on mount Zion; but far nobler, with a wealth of ornamentation, too, that it had not possessed in its days of splendour. The plan and general outline were preserved; nor were the proportions or inner divisions altered; its surroundings, however, displayed ampler and more magnificent dimensions. Pylons were loftier, courts more spacious, colonnades and cool cloisters were multiplied; chambers were more frequent and their size larger; commensurate, in fact, with the peoples of every tongue that were to come and pray at Jerusalem. The plan was as of old, but it was assumed that all the accessory structures and embellishments that had been wrought by ambitious kings and priests were to be renewed. This vision of a new Jerusalem and future temple, conjured up by the fervid imagination of the Israelites, was instinct with fascination, and served to charm away the hardships of their miserable condition as they sat by the waters of Babylon and wept sore because Jerusalem was taken from them. What more natural than that they should have beguiled the evils of exile by picturing a future more brilliant than the past they regretted?

§ 3.—*Scheme of Study with regard to Hebrew Art.*

Our plan in studying Jewish art must necessarily differ from that which we pursued for Assyrian, Babylonian, and Phœnician art. The monuments of the countries to which these arts belong are so plentiful, that they involved divisions and subdivisions; whereas they are so few in Palestine, that they may be said to begin and end with the temple. This famous sanctuary has been destroyed, as well as the buildings that formerly stood around it; yet we are not without hopes of being able to present a reconstruction imbued in all its parts, if not with absolute certainty, at least with common sense and reasonable probability.

All our efforts will tend to have our method accepted as legitimate; to this end we shall have to adopt a course that may appear long and deviating, albeit each step will bring us to the end in view. We will start with the topography of Jerusalem, notably the temple; this done, we will stand upon the hill which formed its pedestal, and briefly describe the edifices successively built around it, noting their remains and the dates to which they belong as we proceed. Our individual task will then be confined to submitting and expounding to the reader the plans of M. Chipiez, calling to our aid texts and analogies to be derived from Eastern monuments, in order to confute the objections that might be raised against some of the plans, as well as making appeal to the laws and restrictions imposed upon the builder who understands his business. We shall neglect no detail, archæological or critical, likely to throw direct or side lights upon the subject; with architects will rest the onus of pronouncing finally as to the merits or demerits of the restoration considered as a whole. Our closing chapter will deal with the art and industry of the Hebrews exclusive of the temple. If the evidence that we shall have brought together will not materially add to the glory of Israel, it will fit in and complete our picture of Phœnician art; showing the influence of the latter to have been paramount in the Jordan valley. The copiousness of the Hebrew literature, better than meagre inscriptions, will enable us to indicate the manners and usages of the natives of Syria; both in their dwellings, tombs, and places of worship. Their plastic art has almost entirely disappeared; but they live before us in their characteristic dress, and the physiognomy proper to nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes in the biblical narrative.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEMPLE.

§ 1.—*Topography of Jerusalem.*

IN the last three hundred years modern inquiry has occupied itself with the temple of Jerusalem, and, like the Jews of the captivity, has endeavoured to reconstruct its former image, now for ever destroyed. To this end texts have been pressed into service, and twisted this side and that side; but the result has been a temple of straw upon a foundation of shifting sand; no one having thought of so elementary a matter as the configuration of the mount that supported the edifice, nor of the modifications, artificial or otherwise, which time and the hand of man had wrought. Added to this, was the difficulty of penetrating into the Haram-esh-Sherif, so that for long years only a very imperfect idea could be formed of the site upon which the temple had stood. Recent explorations, however, have brought to light a whole mass of evidence, and have made possible a description of the area of Jerusalem and of that of the temple.

Jerusalem is emphatically a mountain city. Built on the summit of that long ridge which traverses Palestine from north to south, its western slopes overlook the Mediterranean, whilst the steeper declivities eastward run to the Dead Sea and the Jordan. The city stands on the southern extremity of a spur or plateau, enclosed by two ravines, which bear the familiar names of Kedron and Hinnom (Fig. 106). The ravines rise north of Jerusalem, within a short distance of each other; the Kedron runs eastward for a mile and a half, and then makes a sharp bend to the south; while the Hinnom, after following a direction nearly south for a mile and a quarter, turns to the east and joins the former at Bîr Eyûb, a

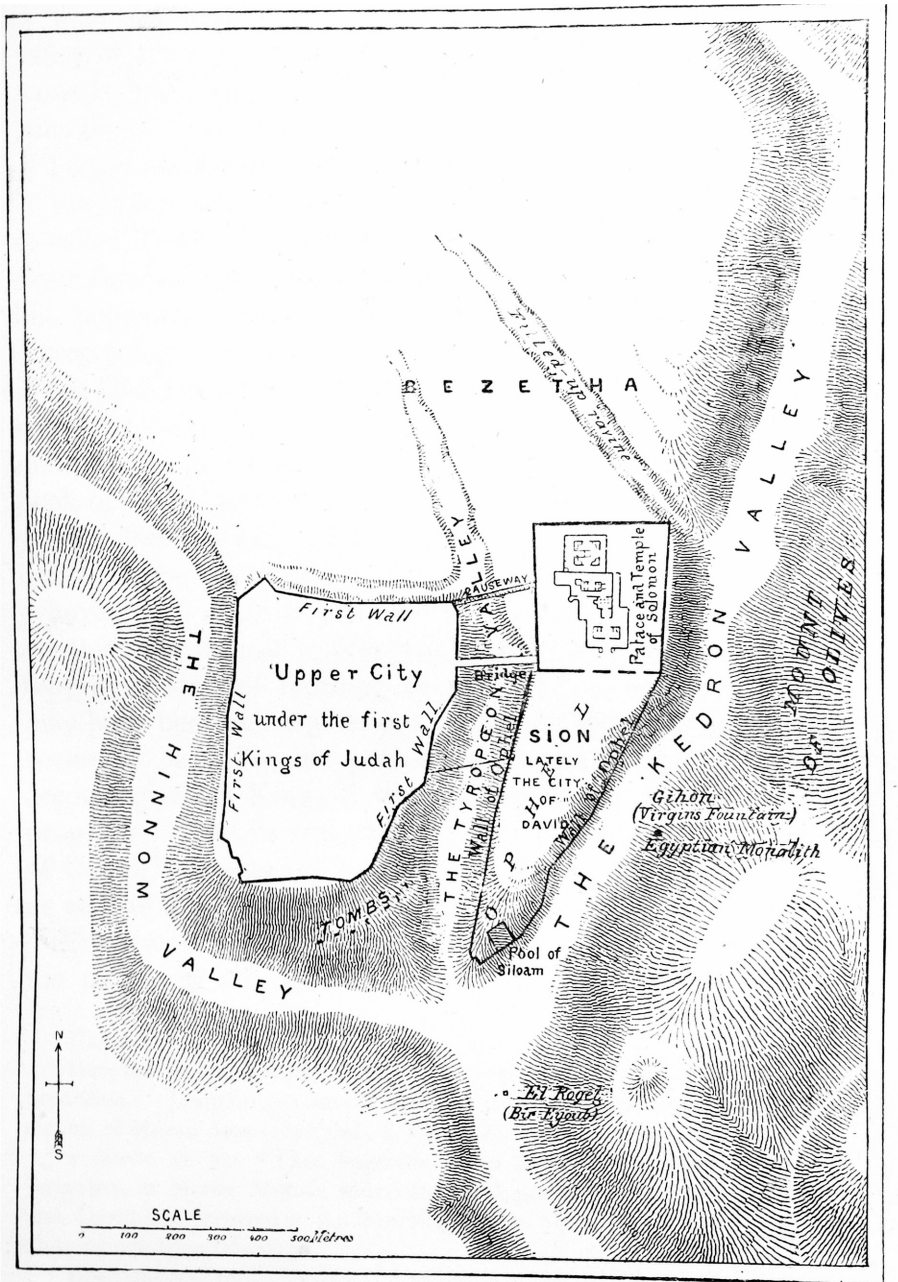

EZETHA
Pillar of Josephus
Palace and Temple of Solomon
CAUSEWAY
First Wall
Upper City
under the first Kings of Judah
Bridge
First Wall
First Wall
SION
LATELY THE CITY OF DAVID
THE TYROPOEON VALLEY
Wall of Hezekiah
Wall of Solomon
THE KEDRON VALLEY
Gihon (Virgins Fountain)
Egyptian Monolith
MOUNT OF OLIVES
THE HINNOM VALLEY
TOMBS
Pool of Siloam
El Rogel (Bir Eyoub)
N
S
SCALE
0 100 200 300 400 500 Metres

FIG. 106.—

deep well south of the city. Both ravines are at first mere depressions of the ground, which here is almost level; but they rapidly fall in their southern course. A third ravine, the Tyropœon—the valley of the cheesemongers of Roman times, but whose original name is unknown, divides the city into two unequal portions and joins the Kedron at the Pool of Siloam to the south-east.

To the north-west, between the Tyropœon and Hinnom valleys, is the steep hill of Zion, whose culminating point supports the so-called Tower of David, which is decidedly Herodian in character. Over against this, but to the south-east, is a longer and narrower hill, popularly known as Moriah, enclosed by the Kedron and Tyropœon ravines. The name of Moriah is only met with twice in the Old Testament; once in Genesis, when Abraham is commanded to sacrifice his son in the land of Moriah,[1] without further indication as to where it might lay;[2] and again in Chronicles, a book of small authority, written little more than three hundred years before our era.[3] The appellative was probably due to the desire of the chronicler to identify Moriah with the spot where Jehovah had made a covenant with the father of his people, an event of the utmost importance to the Israelites, and one which they were fond of recalling to memory.[4] The name, therefore, may have been subsequently taken up by the priests; for it never seems to have become popular, since we do not find it in the account given in Kings of the building of the temple,[5] nor in the prophets; whilst its real name "Zion," synonymous with the "City of David," is frequently met with in the writers of the Captivity,[6] as well as in those of the Macedonian period.[7]

Even without these formal passages, others in the prophets, too numerous for quotation here, would have revealed the true

[1] *Gen.* xxii. 2.

[2] Genesius derives Moriah from "monstratus a Jehovah," or "mount of the apparition." Josephus, as usual, follows the Chronicles, and calls the temple mount, τὸ Μώριον ὄροσ (*Ant. Jud.*, I. xiii. 1, 2).

[3] 2 *Chron.* iii. 1. "Then Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, in Mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David, in the place that David had prepared in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite." See Reuss' observations upon this verse.

[4] *Gen.* xxii. 15, 18. [5] *Kings* vi. [6] 2 *Sam.* v. 7.

[7] It should be observed that Josephus, in his topography of Jerusalem, heading his account of the siege, does not once use the word Zion, either here or throughout his work; but he calls the hill now known as Zion, ἡ ἄνω πόλις—the "upper city." *Bell. Jud.*, V. iv. 1.

significance of the name of Zion. In them its present and future magnificence, the special reason why the nations of the earth will visit it in coming ages, are minutely set forth. But if this hill was placed above all other hills, was it not because of the temple which stood upon it, with the train of ideas and glorious hopes which its image would evoke?

The name of Zion was first exclusively applied to the small mount upon which rose the fortress of the Jebusites, the edifices of David, Solomon, and other kings. Houses increased from year to year, keeping pace with the greater extension of Jerusalem to the westward. In a general sense, the City of David came to signify the whole metropolis; but in a particular sense, the eastern hill, crowned by the temple and house of David, was alone meant. Unbroken tradition places here the site of the temple; and here the surface of the rock shows everywhere traces of its having been smoothed over, cavities filled up, canals cut in the sides of the rock, together with tanks and cisterns for collecting the water. Added to this, the strong position and size of the ridge are in exact consonance with the qualifications looked for by primitive people in electing a site to build a city. The topmost point of the west hill was thirty-eight metres higher than Mount Zion,[1] fortified, too, on three sides by the ravines of the Tyropœon and Hinnom; its north side, however, before its general deep incline towards the Dead Sea, is almost level ground, and had to be protected by thick walls and massive towers, such as were erected by Herod. On the other hand, if Zion was dominated by the west hill, before the invention of gunpowder, the danger was not so great as it would be now; for in those early days strong bulwarks, deep ravines, and scarped rocks, were more formidable than mere elevation.

Despite the height and solidity of these fortifications, repaired at various times, it is on this side that Jerusalem has always been taken; whether by Chaldæan, Crusader, or Roman.[2] The legions under Titus, in their supreme effort against the rebellious

[1] All the misunderstanding about the topography of Jerusalem has been due to the removal of Zion by the Maccabees; when, instead of being higher than the west hill, it became emphatically lower.—EDITOR (*Recovery of Jerusalem*).

[2] When Jerusalem was besieged by the Chaldees, her defenders escaped by night through the gate between two walls by the king's garden, and fled towards Jericho (2 *Kings* xxv. 4); that is to say, the breach was on the north, and they escaped southward.

Jews, broke through the north wall fencing the temple and separating it from the "upper city."[1]

How much easier to give additional strength to the narrower and more sharply outlined hill covered to the south, west, and east by the Tyropœon and Kedron, or Wady-sitti-Miriam valleys. These ravines, now half filled up with accumulated rubbish, were formerly much deeper, it having been shown that the bed of the former is, in places, from sixty-five to ninety-seven feet above the ancient level, and that of the latter from twenty-six to thirty-two feet.[2] Their sides, however, are still sufficiently steep to be difficult of access, and here and everywhere the rock has been scarped or cut perpendicularly downwards, and must at all times have offered a stubborn resistance to the enemy. The two ravines at their point of junction to the south form a kind of promontory, where the cliff has been hewn into a series of terraces which supported compact groups of houses belonging to the Canaanite colony; each lane and stairway of which could be long defended in case of surprise.[3] As we have seen, the only side to be fortified was on the north, and here the neck of land connecting the hill with the mounts of Judæa was narrower than on the western ridge. From the culminating point of Mount Moriah a deep ravine, though partly filled with rubbish, but which has still a depth of forty feet, joined the Kedron by an oblique course on the west. Recent excavations have demonstrated the existence of this depression of the ground, in which lies the large pool of Birket Israil, Bethesda; but as it runs under the substructures of the temple, the uncovered part only could be thoroughly explored (Fig. 109). No spring has yet been found on the west hill; but there is one, the Virgin's Fountain, Ain-um-ed-Deraj, on the east side, which gives a constant supply, and which falls into the smaller Pool of Siloam[4] dug by Hezekiah. In

[1] This is borne out by Josephus, who states, it is true, that the attack was directed against the west side; but he immediately adds, facing the royal palace. Now, from the well-known position of the latter, this could only be the north-west angle of the wall.

[2] According to Sir Charles Warren, the ancient bed of the Kedron is about thirty-nine feet below its present level at the south-east angle of the temple.

[3] Respecting the traces visible on the rock in this deserted quarter of the ancient city, see WARREN'S *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 298; a work we shall make constant use of in the sequel of this essay.

[4] Hezekiah had its water transmitted to the Pool of Siloam by a subterraneous conduit, which passed through Mount Moriah. That in the time of the Jebusites

a country of drought like Judæa, the first qualification in choosing the site of a city was an abundant supply of water throughout the year. Whoever has visited Asia Minor, Syria, or Greece, must have observed that the remains of ancient cities, like the old fortress of the Jebusites, crown every hill-top with a prospect of water. David's city formed no exception to this rule, for it occupied the southern slope of temple mount, or Ophel, with groves and gardens extending below the Pool of Siloam, and around Bîr Eyûb. Secure against drought, well fortified by ravines, it was a stronghold that defied the Hebrews until David, who, with the unerring instinct of a great commander, had seized at a glance all the advantages to be derived from its unique position; advantages not yielded by the eastern hill.[1] The city of David and Solomon has disappeared; but its site remains, and now encloses the Haram-esh-Sherif.

All the misapprehension about the topography of Jerusalem has resulted from a misconception of the true area occupied by Zion or David's city, as well as from having ignored that, when it broke its ancient limits, it extended mostly westward. We have deemed it our duty to point out this error, long believed in and repeated by successive scholars, but which the excavations of Messrs. Wilson and Warren have for ever dispelled.

With passing regret, but for convenience' sake, in speaking of the various localities about Jerusalem, we shall adopt the nomenclature more generally in use; thus, for instance, instead of temple mount, or eastern and western hill, the former we shall call Mount Moriah, and the latter Zion. It is a conventional mode, which we trust will be acceptable to the reader as less confusing.

The site west of Tyropœon, where now rises the modern city, was also the first built over in remote days, perhaps as early as David. There the eastern slope of the mountain was cut asunder

an open canal wound round the foot of the rock, may be inferred by David's exclamation, "Whosoever getteth up to the gutter and smiteth the Jebusites, shall be captain" (2 *Sam.* v. 8). A plan and cut of this canal, with inscription descriptive of its construction, will be found in *Rapports d'une Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie*, 1881. V^e^. rapport, pp. 203, 241, Plates VII., VIII. *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, 3e série, tom. xi., 1885.

[1] In the time of the Maccabees, Zion was carefully cut down and reduced to a less elevation than the temple, because, during the reign of the Macedonians, the Greek garrison dominated the temple and disturbed the worshippers (WARREN'S *Underground Jerusalem*).—EDITOR.

by a ravine, which descended into the Tyropœon, forming a high ridge, especially to the south, known in Roman times as Zion, and crowned by the Tower of David; whilst to the north-west of this secondary ravine was the Acra, or upper city, dominated by Zion, but dominating in turn the Tyropœon valley, along the whole of which it extended. In some texts the name of "lower city" comprises the area covered by the Acra and the Tyropœon; a mode of speech not difficult to understand by one who should look from the spot, west of Zion, formerly occupied by the fortress and palace of Herod. A fourth hill, on the north of Jerusalem, called Bezetha, was very late enclosed within the city walls; an upper branch of the Kedron separated it from the Acra.

We have summed up, as briefly as possible, the results yielded by late investigations, and now of general acceptance, without having entered into the fierce discussions waged as to dates, names, configuration, and sites of Jerusalem. Such arguments are, doubtless, useful to those who wish to follow the history of Jerusalem to the Herodian epoch, when she received her greatest extension. But they would be more than superfluous in our case, since we do not go beyond the Babylonian captivity. On the other hand, it must be confessed that the topographical indications before that epoch are despairingly arid and scanty in the extreme. All we know or rather guess is that under the last kings of Judah, the bulwark ran athwart the Tyropœon to the south, near the pool of Siloam; whilst to the north, no doubt on a level with the north wall of the temple, it partly surrounded the quarters subsequently called Acra and Zion, connecting them with Moriah. What was the direction of the first enclosure wall it is impossible to say, for its foundations run under the most populous quarters, and are thus lost to view; whilst if disturbed, they would bring about the destruction of the modern city.[1] In default of a proper plan of the city of Solomon or even of Hezekiah, some idea may be formed of the aspect she presented under the last kings, by due regard to her

[1] We shall follow the beautiful work of De Vogué, as regards the Haram-esh-Sherif; except in one important particular, where, repeating Thenius's error, who had made a careful study of all the texts, but had never visited the locality, he places the fortress of the Jebusites upon Zion, instead of Ophel, on the south of Moriah. *Le Temple de Jerusalem, Monographie du Haram-esh-Sherif, suivie d'un essai sur la Topographie de la Ville-Sainte*, M. DE VOGUÉ, in folio, 1864, Paris. See also *Das vorexilische Jerusalem, und dessen Tempel dargestellt von Otto Thenius, nebst drei lithographirten Tafeln*, in 8°. Leipzig, Weidmann, 1849.

characteristic position at the head of ravines, whose rocky sides were cut, scooped, stepped or levelled, and thickly built upon; but which, now encumbered with rubbish, make of the Jerusalem of to-day a very different city from that of the past. As in Rome, where the accumulated detritus of ages is a formidable obstacle for ascertaining the existence of the seven hills, here also the English had to cut very deep before they came upon the old level, which they did in many places. Not the least remarkable discovery was the finding of two bridges, which were thrown across the Tyropœon, connecting the two sides of the city; one at the south-west angle of the temple and the other a little more north. They are known respectively as Robinson's and Wilson's Arch, from the names of the explorers who brought them to light. The causeway which passed under Robinson's Arch measured 91 m. in length, and the width of the arches supporting it, 15 m. 50 c.[1] Springing from a pier which rested upon the rock were no less than two arches with drafted stones like those of the substructures of the haram. Stretching from the base of the pier, a little above the point where it met the rock, was a pavement which formerly must have been the surface of the street below, across which were found the voussoirs and *débris* of Robin-



FIG. 107.—Voussoir of Arch fallen through roof of rock-excavated canal. *Recovery*, p. 105.

[1] Messrs. Warren and Wilson have calculated from the voussoirs, making the diameter of the arch somewhat less: 13 m. 0, 3 c.

son's Arch. The English explorers broke through the pavement, when, at the bottom of the ravine, they think they came upon the fellow stone arches of an older bridge (Fig. 107). Sir Charles Warren's measurements of the bridge are the following: from the crown of the arch to the pavement, 13 m., to the base of the pier, 13 m. 88 c., and 23 m. to the bottom of the canal.

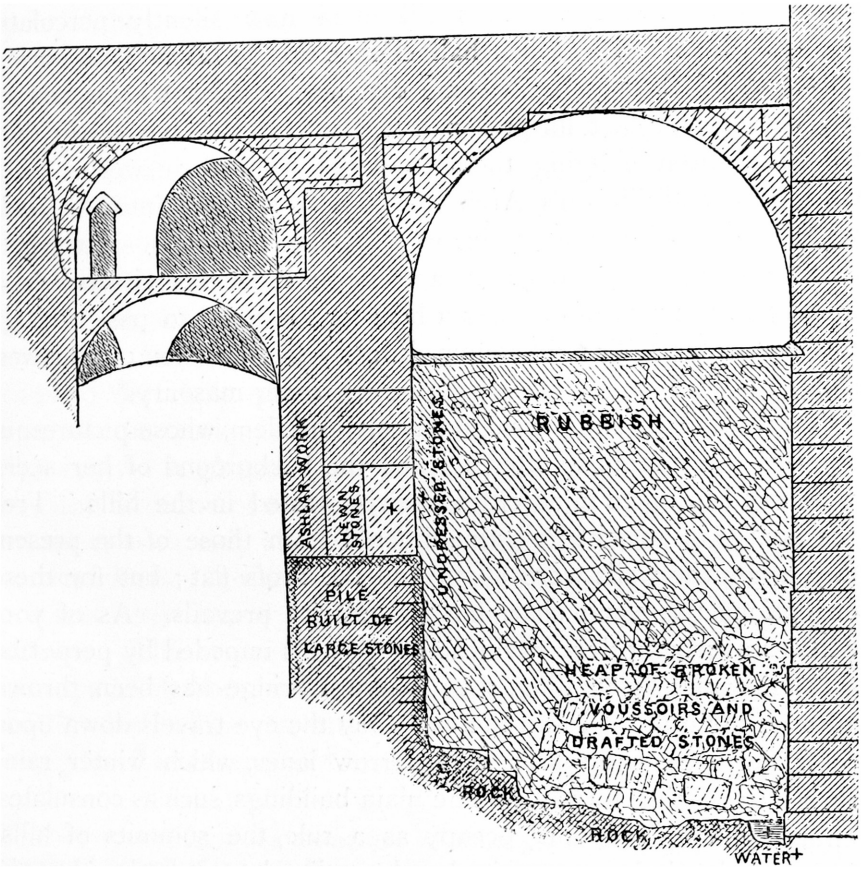


FIG 108.—Wilson's Arch.

Albeit no details are given as to the shape and size of the arch stones, enough is said to enable us to conclude that before the use of dressed stones, a bridge, at a lower level, spanned the valley, perhaps as early as the days of Solomon.[1] We know that the principle of the arch travelled from Egypt and Assyria to Phœnicia; and thence into Judæa, where it may have been applied from the tenth century B.C.; that both bridges were built under the Romans,

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 99–111.

and that the viaduct about Wilson's Arch consisted of a series of arches, some still in *situ*, the largest of which has a diameter of 13 m. 80 c. (Fig. 108), and shows traces of having been repaired by the Byzantines.[1] The lower sides of the valley around these bridges were occupied by artisans (tanners?), who found in the brook running at the bottom of the ravine a supply of water to carry on their trade. This rill even now silently percolates through the rubbish which half chokes up the ravine; its spring, however, which may be at some distance, could not be traced by the explorers, albeit its presence was everywhere visible in their trenches, often obliging them to desist from their work.[2] The canal below Robinson's Arch had a tank scooped into the rock, vaulted over with five or six arch stones (Fig. 107). Here and there the aqueduct widened, and more capacious cisterns were found; in the roof of one was a hole for the hand to pass through to draw water. The rill followed nearly the direction of the west sanctuary wall, sometimes disappearing under masonry.[3]

To reconstruct the physiognomy of Jerusalem, whose picturesque squares and streets so often formed the background of her seers, we should bring to mind cities likewise seated in the hills. True the houses of ancient Palestine differed from those of the present day, when the walls were slight and the roofs flat; but for these exceptions the same charming irregularity prevails. As of yore edifices overhang deep ravines; progress is impeded by perpetual ascending and descending, save where a bridge has been thrown athwart the gully. From the causeway the eye travels down upon roofs, terraces, courtyards, and narrow lanes, which winter rains turn into rushing torrents. The main buildings, such as consulates, churches, and convents, occupy as a rule, the summits of hills; hence their whole contour is sharply outlined against the sky, and their aspect enhanced to the utmost. It is a feature not to be found in the cities of the plain, where the base of structures is lost to view amidst surrounding streets. Were I required to furnish a parallel to ancient Jerusalem, I should name Genoa, Perugia, and Siena.

§ 2.—*Description of Mount Moriah.*

The broad outlines of the topography and configuration of Jerusalem having been obtained, we will turn our attention to

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 16, 76, 94. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 77. [3] *Ibid.*, 104–107.

Mount Moriah and the temple; which, together with the ancient remains still extant above or underground, will necessitate to be minutely described so as to justify the restoration which we venture to present to the reader.

For a long time past it had been generally known that constructions had been effected here at various epochs, and that the aspect of the ground had thereby undergone great alteration. It was reserved for Messrs. Warren and Wilson, however, to determine the exact nature and importance of these works, and to find the relief and lie of the rock, not only on Moriah but about Jerusalem. Their excavations were extended over three years, 1867, 1868, 1869, amidst difficulties of all kinds heroically overcome.[1]

Moriah is the extreme spur of a long counterfort, with a general direction from north to south. Its culminating point is outside the city near the old quarries known as "Jeremiah's Grotto," whence it deviates to the north-west angle of the Haram-esh-Sherif. Here it bends to the right, passing by Kubbet-es-Sakhra, the beautiful dome of the rock, and finally sinks in the valley of Siloam (Fig. 109).[2] A glance at the map of the English explorers will show the direction of the rock, covered here as everywhere about Jerusalem with rich black mould, varying in places from two to four feet deep. It will convey, moreover, a fair idea of the mount as it was when David and Solomon laid the foundations of their edifices. The centre of the present haram is occupied by an open space, of about one hundred metres long by thirty or forty broad, which albeit not strictly level, could be made so at little cost. Here stood the threshing-floor of Araunah, the rich Jebusite

[1] To have some idea of the manner and the difficulties in which these labours were prosecuted, consult WARREN'S *Recovery of Jerusalem*, wherein these are recorded from day to day. It is to be regretted that the indefatigable explorers, so well acquainted with above Moriah and underground, were prevented by the duties of their military profession to alter their method of exposition. The work, of which our Fig. 110 is but a sample, and which we borrowed from the *Recovery of Jerusalem*, was not confined to Moriah. Captain Conder, basing his knowledge upon over two hundred and fifty soundings, drew a map of underground Jerusalem, entitled *Rock Contours of Jerusalem*, Plates II. and III. of the *Atlas* (plans, elevations, sections, etc., showing the results of the Exploration Fund, by Captain C. Warren, R.E., 1884, etc.). This valuable map enables us to understand the description found in *Josephus* of the Jerusalem of his own time, and to follow the undulation of the ground as no surface exploration could have done. A reduced copy of this map was given in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1873, p. 151, of the same society.

[2] Fig. 110: 1. Sacred Rock; 2. Cut Rock; 3. Ditch cut in rock.

and friend of David; whose olive and cypress groves and waving corn may have been round about him, whilst the steep sides were partly filled and gradually built over.[1]

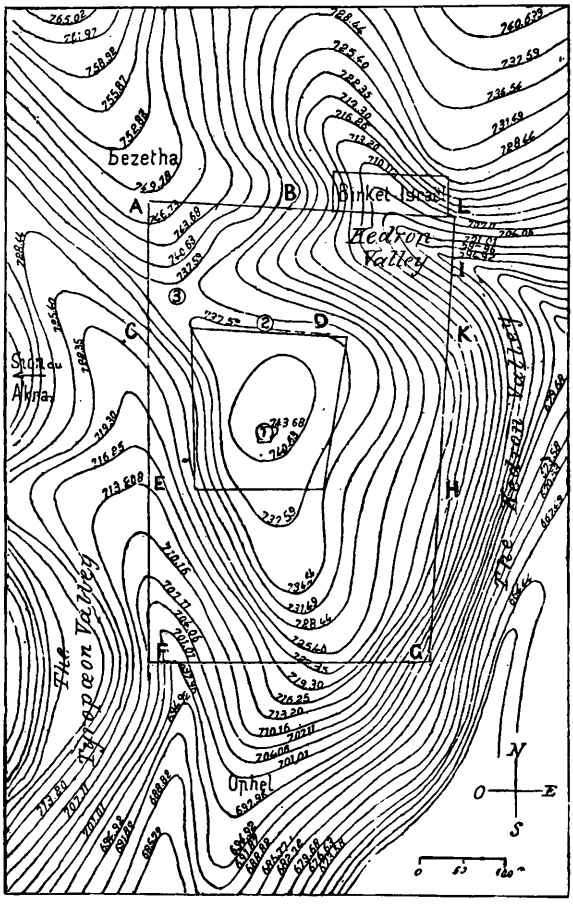


FIG. 109.—Lie of Rock and structures on the Haram. *Recovery*, p. 298.

Contemplation of the English plans, elevations, sections, etc., reveal the fact that before the plateau could assume its present conformation, a complete change must have taken place; and that this was brought about by structures erected at various times that were of far greater importance than those whose experience did not extend to an underground Jerusalem could well imagine. Hence it was that even De Vogué did not apprehend everything, despite the scrupulous and minute care with which he examined the surface of the haram, the cisterns, aqueducts, and drains, forming a complete network under the superficial ground.[2]

[1] It is formally stated that Solomon began to build the house of the Lord on Mount Moriah, on the threshing-floor of Araunah (2 *Chron.* iii. 1). That the threshing-floor stood on the hill may be inferred from the biblical narrative: for "the angel of the Lord stood between the earth and the heaven" (*Chron.* xxi. 16). Now, the position of the angel is perfectly intelligible, if we suppose him to stand a few feet below the ridge. Threshing-floors, both in Palestine and Greece, are usually placed on mounds or on flat portions of the ridge, that they may catch every breath of wind, by means of which the corn is separated from the chaff.

[2] DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, chap. i. (*Description Générale du Haram-esh-Chérif*).

Towards the centre, east and west of the plateau, were two parallel walls; of which the intervening space and the hollows of the ground had been filled up; to the north the platform had been lowered, whilst to the south it had been raised so as to bring it to a level. The whole space marked ABCD (Fig. 109), had been cleared, the north-west angle scooped out of the rock, and the court hemmed in by a natural wall; the north portion of which is full eight metres high. The soil at the north-east angle, on the other hand, consisted almost entirely of detritus. De Vogué erroneously supposed that the Birket-Israil had its outlet into the Kedron beyond the haram; but the English diggings have proved that the ravine which at this point forms the pool, slants under the north-east angle of the high terrace, where was found the greatest accumulation of rubbish. A gallery, I, was driven along the eastern wall, and a shaft sunk through the shingle, when a small cistern for collecting the rain water which drains into a canal running along the sanctuary wall was reached at a depth of 38 m. 10 c. below the present surface.[1] Was it formerly roofed over? Sir C. Warren thinks it highly probable; but as he was not permitted to prosecute his investigations within the precincts of the sanctuary, absolute certainty is impossible.

An artificial ground had been made to the south, supported by a whole series of vaults or arches forming the square, EFGH. The English explorers ascertained that the platform was almost level, except at angle A, which crumbled away and could not be thoroughly cleared. The platform was laid out in terraces; the Kubbet-es-Sakhra occupying the upper, whilst the courts of the temple formed the lower 5 m. below; but still sufficiently high to overlook the surrounding ground. The highest apparent rise is seen at the south-east angle, where it reaches 14 m. above the surface; the bottom of the ravine to the north-east, however, is buried under 100 feet of accumulated rubbish; and throughout galleries were driven, shafts were sunk at great depth to reach the wall which rests on the rock.[2]

As was stated earlier, the north side of the haram was on a level with the surrounding country. To guard against this incon-

[1] *Recovery*, p. 186.

[2] The depth of the detritus was found as follows: the base of the wall at south-west angle, is 20 m. 60 c. below the present level of the valley; facing the west gate, 22 m. 19 c.; and at south-east angle, 24 m. 32 c.

venience, a broad, deep trench was cut in the rock on the north-west; whilst on the north-east the deep ravine and pool of Birket-Israil were sufficient barrier against inroads; since although half filled up, they still present a depth of 20 m. by 30 broad. The pool, as was stated, was fed by a canal cut through the rock from east to west.

The area of the sanctuary may be described as a rough square or trapeze; averaging from 491 to 462 m. from east to west, and 310 to 281 m. from north to south. The broad level and conspicuous position of the haram, enclosed throughout by a massive wall, single it out at a considerable distance. Despite the political and religious convulsions that have raged around and within its walls, despite the ruthless brutality and fanaticism that have forced open its gates, violated its precincts, and destroyed to the last stone the buildings that once formed its glory, the main outlines of the sanctuary are appreciably the same as when Herod, to please the Jews, widened the plateau to build a temple greater and more magnificent than the two that had preceded it. From that day the circumference of this colossal plinth has remained unchanged; none of its angles have been broken off, nor have its faces been damaged. Jews and Assyrians, Greeks and Romans, have all built upon it, and the ruins of all are even now discernible. The platform is as of yore, when Titus, from Mount Olive, viewed with mixed feelings of admiration and awe the sumptuous edifices on Moriah and the adjacent slopes, fenced round by walls which rendered the haram a formidable fortress.[1]

These walls, so often broken through and as often repaired, still tell the history of their ill usage. The first act of the enemy on taking possession of Moriah, was to fill in the gaps made in the wall by their war-engines; and to raise an altar to their national god, on a site already consecrated by other religions. The lower courses of the walls are all that remain of the ramparts of Solomon; for although old stones are met with encased in the upper layers of masonry, the work belongs to posterior epochs, clearly indicated by the smaller size of the stones and the mode of their preparation. It may be laid down as an axiom, that the place occupied by each band in the vertical plan is an index of its approximative age. But of this we shall have more to say a little further, when we come to consider the architectural characteristics

[1] JOSEPHUS, *Bell. Jud.*, V. ii. 3.

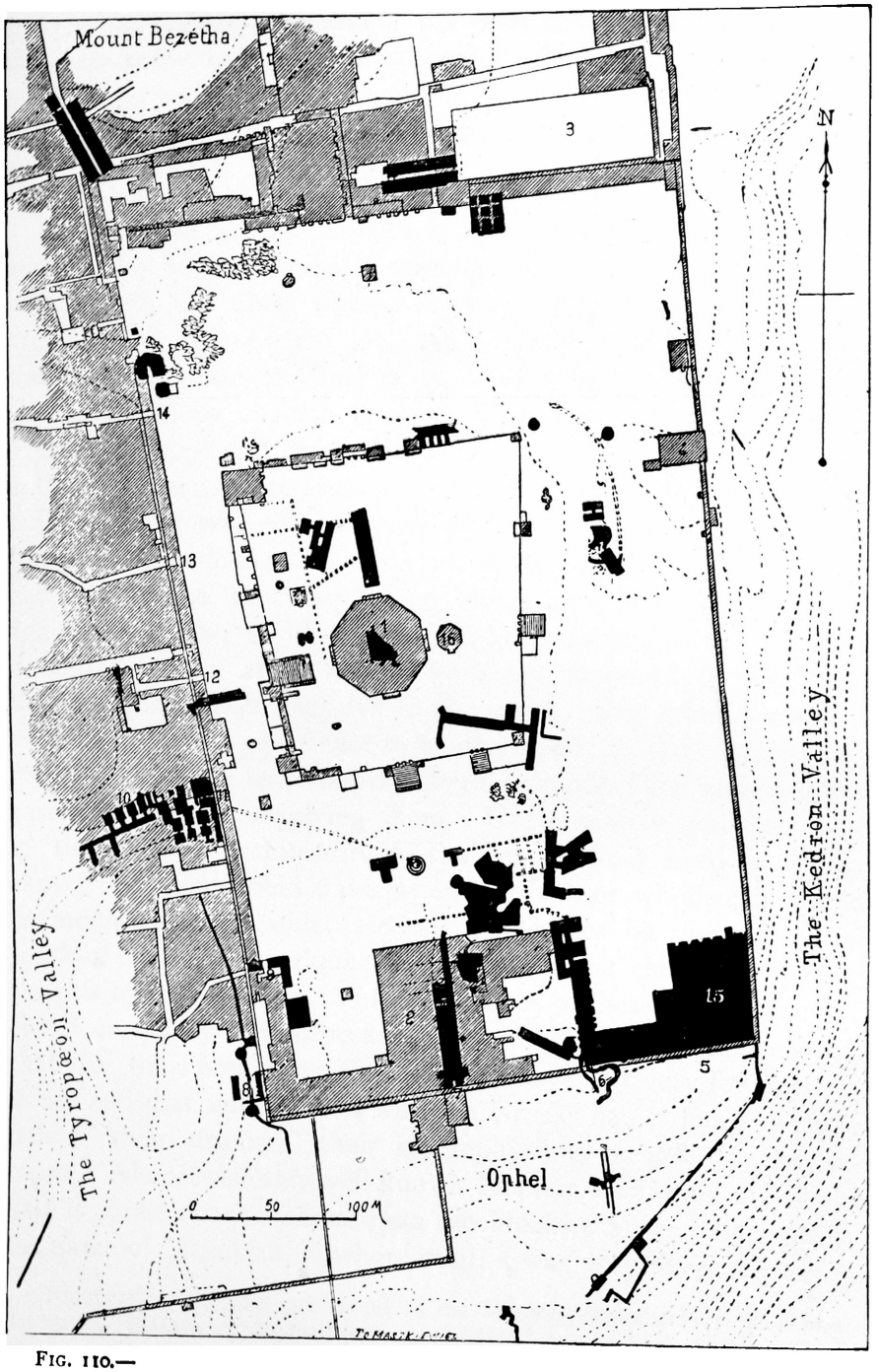

Mount Bezetha
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12
11
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The Tyropœon Valley
The Kedron Valley
Ophel
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100 M

FIG. 110.—

of these blocks of buildings. As a preliminary we will pass in review the various schemes for dressing the materials used; and essay to define and apportion to each its date.

§ 3.—*Architectural Forms and Materials used in the Wall of Enclosure.*

With the mosques of El-Aksa and Es-Sakhra, rising within the area of the haram, we have nothing to do; neither are we concerned with the small shrines dotted about the plateau, of no special merit beyond that attached to them by the various communities, Christian or Moslem, to which they belong; and which can boast of no ancient remains (Fig. 110).[1] The temple of Herod was replaced successively by a Roman temple, a basilica, and a mosque; but if stones of the old sanctuary were used in building these new edifices, their primitive character was effaced by recutting tofit them to their new destination. The policy that had caused the sanctuary to be swept away was not directed against the walls; for they were the embodiment of no religious or national idea, and "souls" were not supposed to reside in them. Hence when they fell to the enemy, they were found too valuable as means of defence to be destroyed; on the contrary, the gaps made by the battering-ram were promptly filled in, and great care was taken in repairing them. Unfortunately this was done in the style of architecture of the day, without heed as to the aspect the work would have when finished, or whether it would harmonize with the older sections. If stones bearing the chisel mark of Solomon's workmen still exist, the best chance for finding them is to seek them in the lower courses of these walls. We say chisel or quarry marks, because it is pretty generally consented, that like the Phœnicians, the Israelites have left very few inscriptions; and that until contact with the Greeks had induced them to imitate their example, their epigraphy was meagre in the extreme. Almost the only well-known Hebraic inscription of ancient date is about 150 years later than the Moabite Stone. It goes by the name of Hezekiah, in whose reign it was very likely written to

[1] Numbers in the plan correspond to the following structures: 1. Kubbet-es-Sakhra; 2. El-Aksa; 3. Birket-Israil; 4. Golden Gate; 5. Single Gate; 6. Triple Gate; 7. Double Gate; 8. Robinson's Arch; 9. Prophet's Gate; 10. Wilson's Arch; 11. Chain Gate; 12. Bath Gate; 13. Iron Gate; 14. Inspector's Gate; 15. Solomon's Stables; 16. Kubbet-es-Silsileh.

record the completion of a canal between el Rogel (Virgin's Fountain) and the Pool of Siloam. The letters are exceedingly rude and archaic and almost illegible.[1]

Consequently, when we come to examine the stones encased in portions of the wall—in pilasters, capitals, pedestals, and so forth, it would be more than useless to hope in the turning up of dates, names, and records of passing events. All we shall have to go upon in order to determine their relative age will be their size, shape, and mode of preparation. It will be conceded that a plain cut stone is more difficult to define than the characteristic outline of a moulding, which is of a nature to strike the most unobservant. Where these elements have not been disturbed, where they seem to have been incorporated with the surrounding materials, this should be heralded and given great prominence, for it will lead to a proper classification and estimate of the various methods that were resorted to. But a similar procedure is not so easy as at first appears. Archæologists who have busied themselves with this question, men of unquestionable merit and integrity, are not agreed on the results of their observations and of their researches.

The stone used in building Jerusalem, ancient and modern, is the white limestone of the country.[2] It is soft when first quarried, but it soon hardens by exposure, furnishing a very solid material if care is taken to remove the less hard and resisting portions. Owing no doubt to the ignorance of the ancient builder, this precaution was neglected in the construction of the first wall. The quarries out of which the kings, from Solomon to Herod, derived their building material, extends under the north quarter of the town, one of the entrances being still visible.[3] The blocks ex-

[1] The inscription is in the form of a rectangular cartouche, and consists of six graven lines in the canal itself. Pending its translation and publication in the *Corpus. Inscrip. Semit.*, an excellent reproduction will be found in *V^e. Rapport*, Plate VII., by M. Ganneau, 1881 (*Archives et Missions*, 3^e serie, tom. xi.). A cast of this interesting monument is in the British Museum, close to the Mesa Stone; with which it unfavourably contrasts. The Biblical and Archæological Society has published a translation of both inscriptions, with critical and explanatory notes.—EDITOR.

[2] The plateau upon which the city stands consists of two strata; the upper beds yield an extremely hard compact stone, called by the Arabs "mezzeh," whilst the lower, in which most of the ancient tombs and cisterns have been cut, are of a soft white stone called "melekeh." The mezzeh was generally selected for building purposes (*Recovery*, p. 8).

[3] JOSEPHUS, *Bell. Jud.*, V. iv. 2. See also "Royal Caverns or Quarries," by SIMPSON,

posed to view have assumed a hoary appearance, brought about by extreme diversity of temperature, which in Jerusalem alternates between tropical heat and almost Siberian cold. On the other hand, stones equally old would appear as if laid but yesterday, had not time lent them a subdued tint which the rays of the setting sun transform into the richest gold. It would be most misleading, therefore, to try and fix the age of the blocks from the state of preservation in which their outer face is found.

The first visible courses contain the largest and oldest blocks. The dimensions of these stones are everywhere far greater than

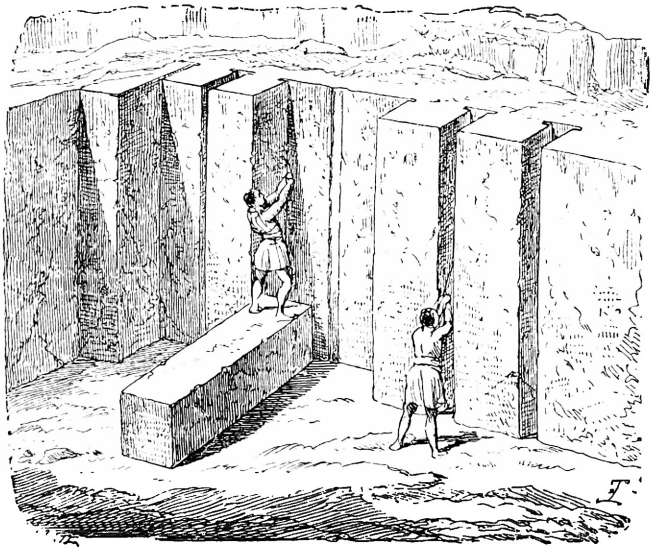


FIG. 111.—Ancient Quarries near Jerusalem. DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple.*

those generally seen in our quarries; but it should be noticed that not two are exactly alike. Numbers were placed against the stratum; but as the bed from which they were extracted was very deep, their horizontal tables were found too far apart to be used in coursed work. Hence the stones were cut in vertical sections equidistant from each other, and of the height required for the

Quarterly Statements, Palestine Exploration Fund, pp. 375–79, 1869. Some of the details are curious, as, for instance, where he states that diminutive hollows were scooped out of the rock by the quarrymen, and filled with oil to dip their wicks, which are still visible. These wicks were drawn out so as to light up the gallery, enabling the men to see the perpendicular splits made in the blocks to be quarried. The trail made by the smoke on the wall is very distinct. A great ditch cut in the rock near Damascus gate, was clearly intended as the beginning of a road for the transport of stones.

courses. Our illustration (Fig. 111) shows this method, which was in vogue thousands of years ago, evidenced by multitudinous examples in the royal quarries, a method still practised about Jerusalem. Here, then, the nature and lie of the rock did not determine the height and length of the stones, for no matter the size required, the builder was always able to procure them.

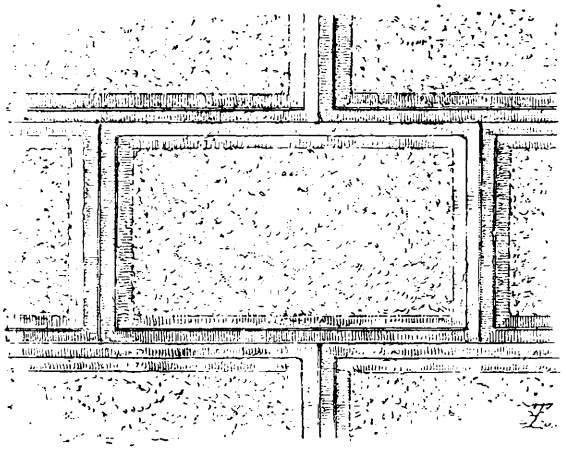


FIG. 112.—Large Stones in place. DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, p. 5.

The courses diminish in height as they rise from the ground. On the west face of the wall the basement exposed to view shows the highest course measuring 1 m. 90 c., whilst the lowest at this point is barely 1 m.

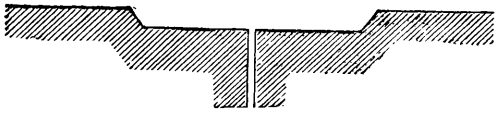


FIG. 113.—Marginal groove of large Stones. DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, p. 5.

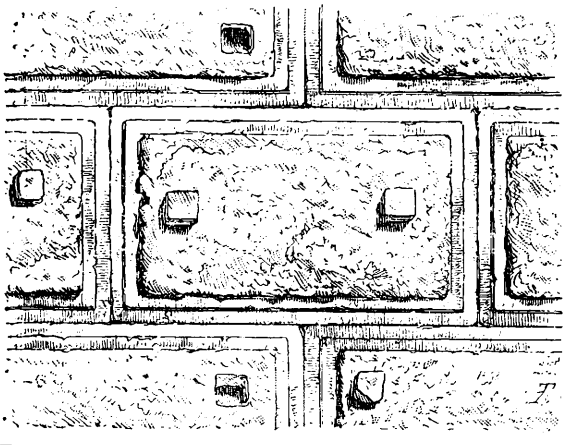


FIG. 114.—Dressing of large Stones. DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, p. 5.

The difference in the length of the blocks is even more remarkable, ranging from 7 m. to 0 m. 80 c. The block at the south-west angle is 12 m. in length by 2 m. in height; whilst the corner stone at the south-east angle, albeit not the longest, is certainly the heaviest seen in the sanctuary wall, weighing over one hundred tons.[1] As might be expected, the stones of great bulk are met with at or near the

[1] *Recovery*, p. 121.

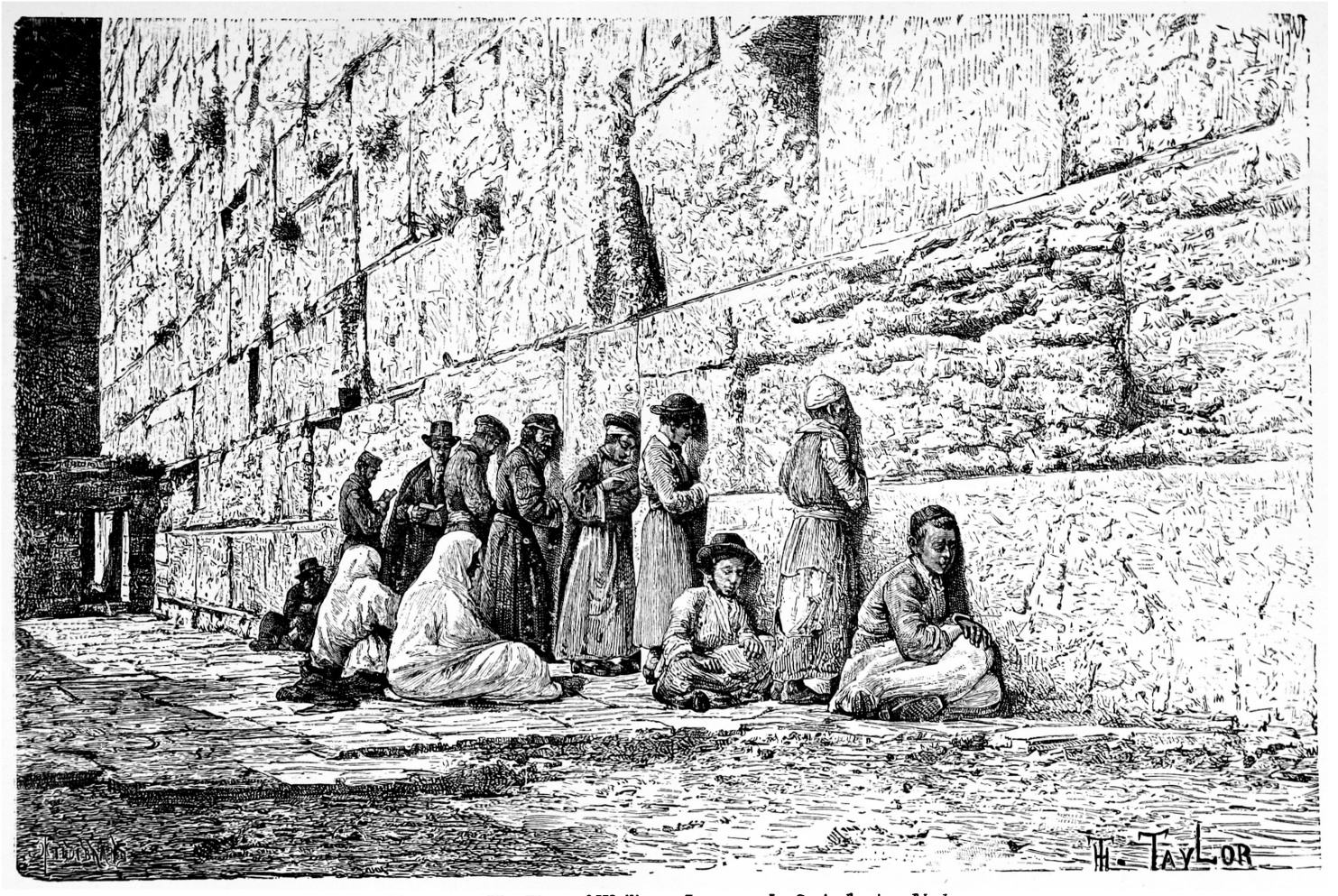


FIG. 115.—The Place of Wailing. LORTET, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui.*

angles. This peculiarity of the Jewish builders is often alluded to in the Scriptures.[1]

It should be noticed that each course is set back from that on which it rests, and that, roughly speaking, the batter does not exceed 0 m. 5 c.; but here also no uniform rule seems to have guided the builder, for at the south-east angle the batter is from 0 m. ·75 c. to 0 m. 10 c.[2] Each stone is beautifully dressed on all its faces, well jointed, but without mortar. All the joints are either horizontal or perpendicular. A striking feature in these blocks is seen in the drafts surrounding them on their outer face. These drafts or grooves form a pleasing variety, and serve to break the monotony of a large bare surface by showing up each course and each joint. The medium width of these grooves on this side is 0 m. 15 c., and their depth 0 m. 25 c. (Fig. 112).

Each stone has a slightly projecting table, polished throughout with the greatest care; a shallow line, seen on all its faces, served to regulate the mason's work, well seen in Fig. 113. Here and there, as for instance in the basement of David's Tower, which has been identified with the Phasœebus of Josephus, blocks were met with marginal groove, but roughly faced, showing that the draft had been done at the works, and the finishing when the stone was in place (Fig. 114).

The blocks uncovered on the south face at the north-east, notably at the south-east angle, where fifteen courses are exposed, were examined by De Vogué, as well as those on the west side. Here the finest stones, in a good state of preservation, are found on the portion of the wall called Heit-el-Maghāribe, or place of wailing, where every Friday the Jews come to lament over the ruins of Jerusalem—a most pathetic scene, not likely to be forgotten by the traveller who has witnessed it (Fig. 115).

To the north of the south-east angle, some fifteen yards from this point, may be seen the remains of Robinson's Arch, the masonry of which undoubtedly belongs to the "first method" of building. The back part of the arch rested on the wall (Fig. 116).

To-day we are more advanced than De Vogué, and we know that wherever excavations were made along the wall, stones with sunken face or groove, their lower base resting upon the rock, have been uncovered. The two exceptions to this rule were:

1. The south face of Birket-Israil, forming the west front of the

[1] *Matt.* xxi. 42; *Eph.* ii. 20; *Job* xxxviii. 6. [2] *Recovery*, p. 149.

sanctuary wall, where the terms of the firman authorizing the excavations did not allow to penetrate; on the other hand, the pool was always half filled with water, so that it could not be explored. It is highly probable that the plastering of the tank covers a wall with stones of great size; but this, for obvious reasons, was not verified.[1] 2. The middle of the east face, where the English investigators came upon Moslem tombs, which line this portion of the slope facing the Kedron. Here operations had to be suspended, lest they should create a disturbance among the Mohammedans. In some places shafts were attempted between the intervening spaces not occupied by the cemetery; but the subsoil, consisting of loose boulders and layers of shingle, endangered the life of the men so that further diggings had to be abandoned.[2]

A word of mention upon the method they adopted may find its proper place here. With the aid of faithful Sergeant Birtles, a miner of great skill and experience, and knowing that the wall was on the scarp of the rock, shafts were sunk some ten yards from the exposed wall. The mining cases, consisting of four pieces, were made of two or three-inch plank, twelve inches wide, the side pieces fitting into each other upon a tenon and mortise principle. The men went down and came up in them, fastened by cords, through thick layers of potsherd and shingle, sometimes 33 metres from the orifice. From the shaft, they pushed towards the wall at different heights; from the galleries, the tops and sides of which were also made of wood, they proceeded in the same manner; and, when the wall was reached, they crept along right and left, until the want of air and masses of falling shingle and stones obliged them to stop and try their fortunes a little further. The sketch which follows, although—on the confession of the authors—somewhat out of proportion, gives a fair idea of the way these excavations were conducted (Fig. 117). Readers of the *Recovery of Jerusalem* need not be told that the innumerable soundings executed by Messrs. Warren and Wilson were attended with considerable danger and difficulties at every step from within and from without; but that the indomitable will, self-abnegation, inventive genius, promptness of action, and consummate tact of Sir C. Warren rode triumphantly over all obstacles.[3]

The real service rendered by these excavations is to have

[1] *Recovery*, p. 171. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 153–159. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 56–75.

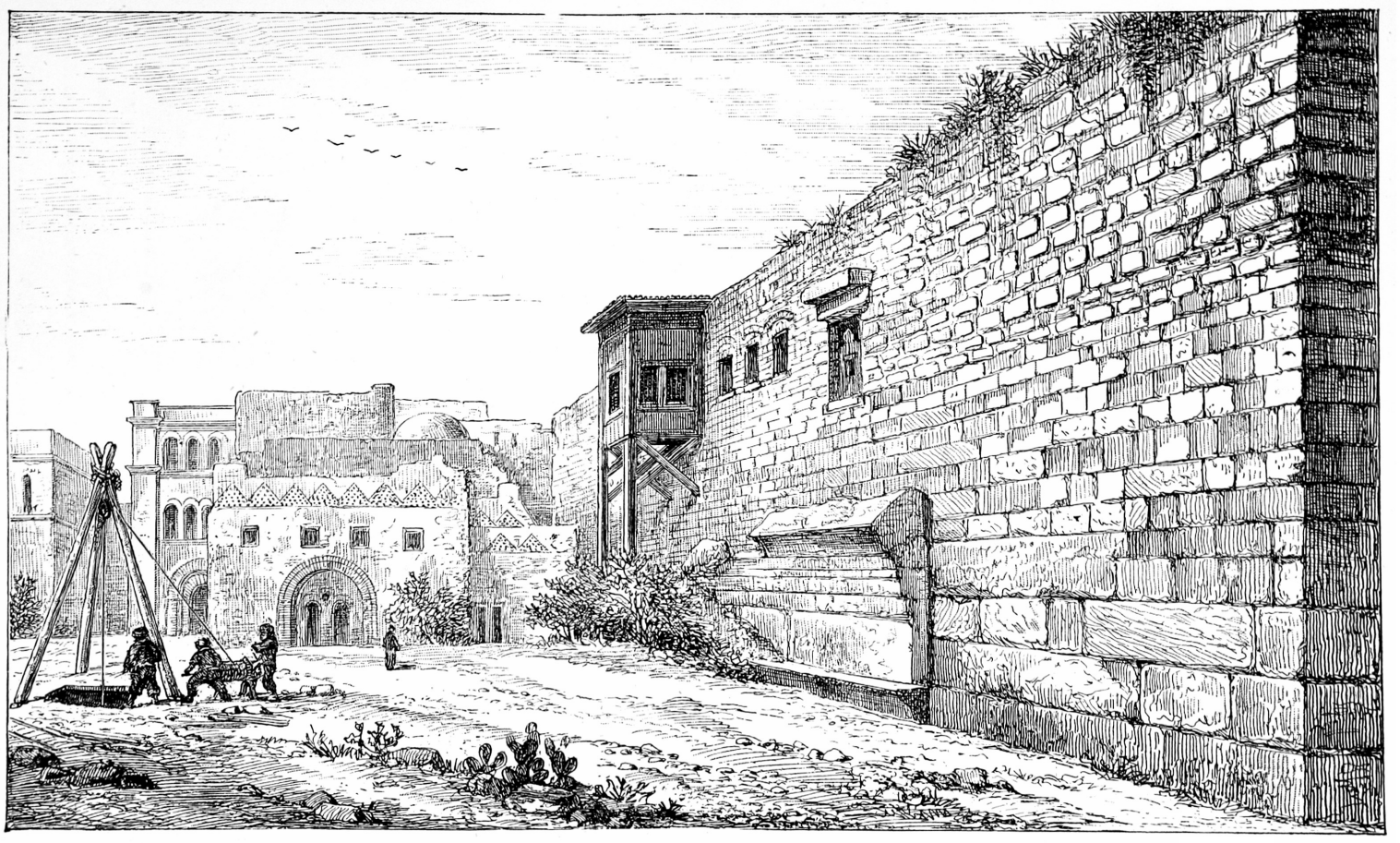
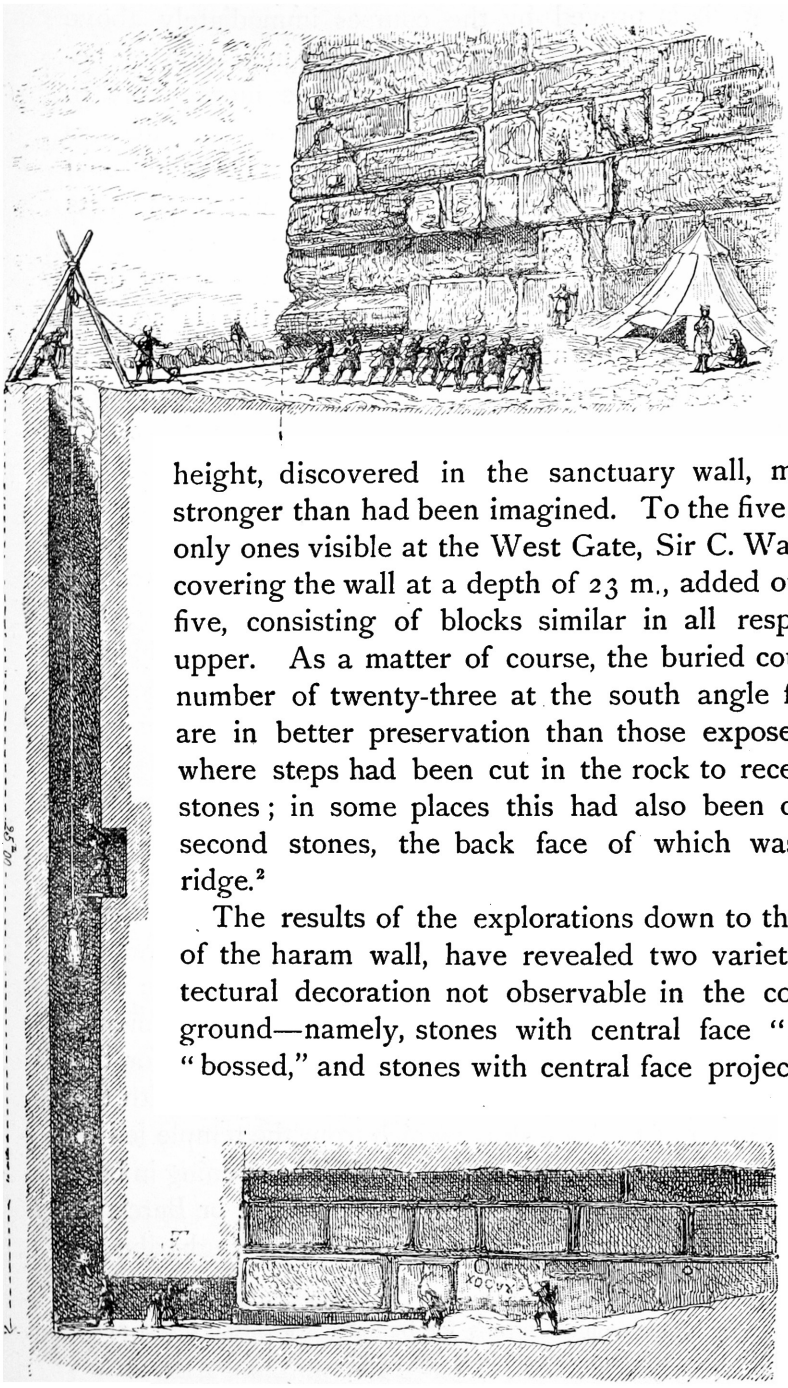


FIG. 116.—Haram Enclosure, south-east angle, and Remains of Bridge. *Recovery*, Frontispiece.



demonstrated, beyond the shadow of a doubt—since he who has eyes may see — that the stone blocks of enormous length and height, discovered in the sanctuary wall, muster much stronger than had been imagined. To the five courses, the only ones visible at the West Gate, Sir C. Warren, by uncovering the wall at a depth of 23 m., added other twenty-five, consisting of blocks similar in all respects to the upper. As a matter of course, the buried courses, to the number of twenty-three at the south angle for instance, are in better preservation than those exposed.[1] Everywhere steps had been cut in the rock to receive the first stones; in some places this had also been done for the second stones, the back face of which was let in the ridge.[2]

The results of the explorations down to the foundation of the haram wall, have revealed two varieties of architectural decoration not observable in the courses above ground—namely, stones with central face "rusticated,"[3] "bossed," and stones with central face projected from 50 to 60 c.,[4] imparting a strange aspect to the outer face of the wall. That this is not ascribable

FIG. 117.—English Excavations at south-east angle of Area. *Recovery.*

[1] *Recovery*, p. 333. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 147, 183. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 147, 183.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 182.

to unfinished work is proved by the courses immediately above being finely chiselled all over, and with every indication of belonging to the same period. The peculiarity is more likely to have arisen from the fact that such blocks were intended as foundation stones, part of which was sunk to give additional strength to the wall and prevent the rubbish accumulated at its base invading it, for it is never seen except near the rock.

It is not necessary to point out that this difference of cut does not destroy the general aspect of the surface; this is secured throughout by the great size and sunken face of the stones. One metre square blocks of fine joint and polish, with more accentuated batter than that of the preceding courses, but without boss or groove, are seen on the west and south fronts, at the Golden Gate, and part of the south face, and notably at the south-east angle (Figs. 116 and 118).[1]

The stones above these, which we have named "second method," do not call for special mention, save that they are smaller, laid with cement, exhibiting, in places, huge bossed blocks. This of itself does not imply that they belong to the first period; they may be no older than the Middle Ages, for they are met with in the fortresses left by the crusaders throughout Syria.

A cursory examination of the gates will next follow; but we will confine ourselves to singling out differences of material and date thereby implied. Those who may wish for an exhaustive description of this portion of the haram, will find it in DeVogué's beautiful work.[2]

The sanctuary was entered on the south front by stairs or ramps, now disappeared. To-day its only means of access is on the west façade, where the adjacent soil, being much higher than formerly, the gates in use open in the wall over the ancient portals, for the most part walled up. The sill of these doorways is level with the old surface, and that of the causeways which from the temple led to the town, and about 6 m. below the platform.[3] The opening in best preservation on this side is variously called West Gate or Barclay's Gate. It stands as nearly as possible under Bab-el-Maghāribe.

[1] A marginal groove is a simple motif, says De Vogué; strictly speaking, a rusticated face is a rapid, economical means for building a wall, the edges alone being dressed, whilst the surface of the stone is left rough.

[2] DE VOGUÉ, *Temple de Jerusalem*, pp. 7, 12.

[3] The West Gate is not open to the general public; but, for a consideration, a guide will take the visitor through it by private houses, and even to the platform of the haram.

Its most distinguishing feature is a monolith lintel, 5 m. in length, which belongs to the first system. The second begins immediately above it (Fig. 118). The whole gateway was rebuilt when the second method obtained, together with a gallery or chamber with arch shaped like a bow. If no traces now exist of the portals which once connected the upper city with the temple, by means of two causeways athwart the Tyropœon at different heights, this is owing to the gates having been placed towards the top of the primitive wall everywhere destroyed.

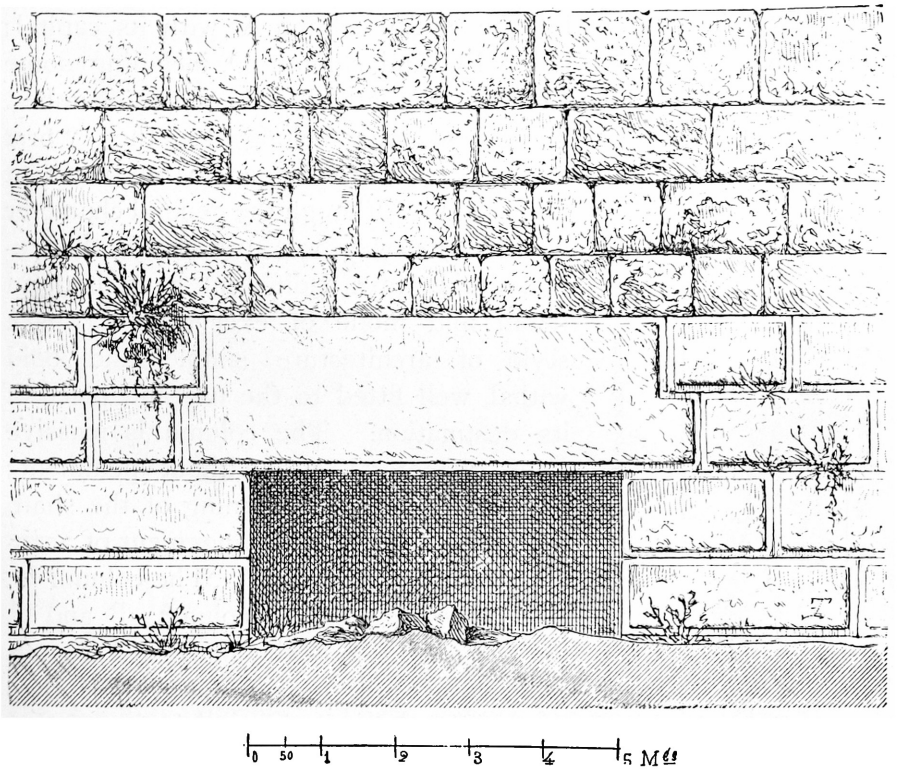


FIG. 118.—Western Gate, outer elevation. DE VOGUÉ, Plate III.

From the terrace of the haram, the best view of the three gates on the south façade is obtained. They are severally called Single, Double, and Triple Gate, from the number of their openings (Fig. 119).[1] The latter is the only one whose approach is occupied by a modern building. Through the Double Gate our Lord and His disciples must often have passed on their way to and from

[1] Fig. 119: 1. Robinson's Arch restored; 2. Canal cut in the rock; 3. Shafts sunk by the English explorers.

the temple ; under the porch the Master sat surrounded by the Twelve, as He preached to the assembled multitudes.

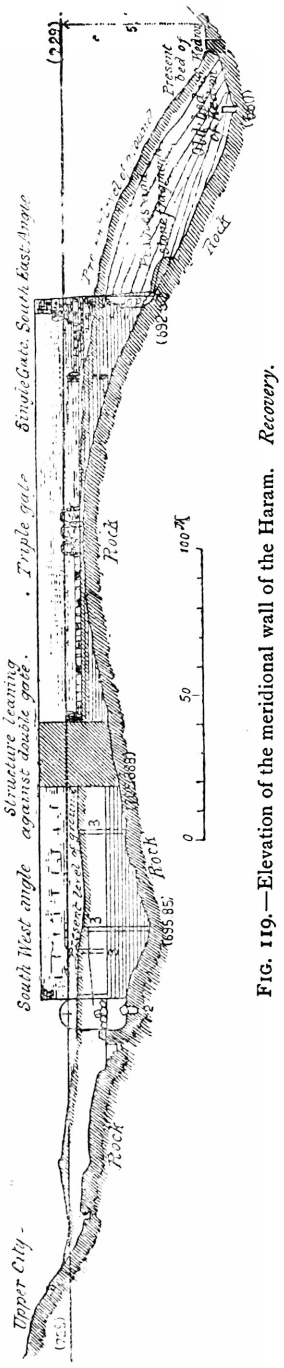


FIG. 119.—Elevation of the meridional wall of the Haram. *Recovery.*

The twin arches of this gateway, resting upon a central pier of considerable size, open into a large vestibule or chamber. Down it, in the middle, runs a single row of pillars ; whilst stairways, one on each side, lead to the platform above (Figs. 120, 121). Of the old gate nothing remains but the central column A, with its capital; pillar BC and column D, including some stones in the lateral walls of the chamber. These sections belong to the "first method," and are shaded in our woodcut (Fig. 122). Although the general character of this doorway was preserved, the remainder betrays a different hand, both in detail and mode of execution. It is a style of architecture simple and bold withal, well fitted to the use and place of its destination. The column is massive (four diameters), and without pediment; its capital, a simple widening of the shaft, is ornamented by an arrangement of acanthus leaves in bas-relief.[1] The column D, and the twin-engaged columns B and C, the upper portion of the shafts and capitals of which are now destroyed, were doubtless distinguished by the same characteristics. As we stated, all were rebuilt at a later period, together with the chamber that had fallen in. The walls were rough cast ; from the central column sprang a double set of arches, surmounted by an equal number of domes, which rested on a square by means of pendentives or spherical triangles.[2] Close against the outer wall

[1] DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, p. 9, Fig. 6 and Plate IV.

[2] Restorations on a large scale were undoubtedly made in Jerusalem under the

rose semi-circular vaults, and over the lintels discharging arches were placed (Fig. 120).

That the whole restoration belongs to the "second method" is proved by the bulk and dressing of the stones; by the marble shafts (*a a* on plan, Fig. 122), evidently taken from some earlier building, capped by Roman or Byzantine capitals; by the base of an old statue, bearing an inscription to Antonine, placed upside down, an awkward blunder that could only have occurred in a period of decay; and finally, by the inner construction of the chamber, suggesting throughout Byzantine influence.[1] The history

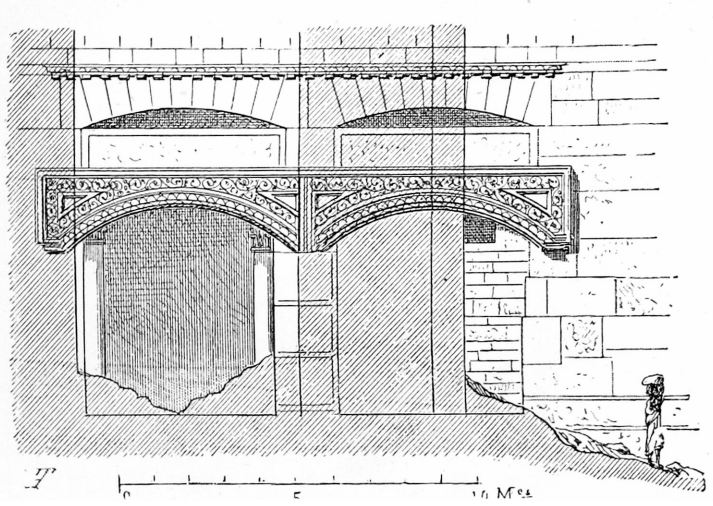


FIG. 120.—Double Gate, outer elevation. DE VOGUÉ, Plate IV.

of the wall of enclosure, too, helps us to fix an approximate date to the buildings raised on Moriah. We know that Justinian, besides the basilica already referred to, erected two hospices for the sick and pilgrims.[2] These have disappeared, but the church, under its modified name, El Aksa, still remains; albeit so transformed that it is almost impossible to distinguish the parts that belonged to the first edifice. But the numberless ruins and churches scattered everywhere in Central Syria, dating from the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, exhibiting the special characteristics which mark El Aksa, enable us to solve the problem

Byzantine emperors. But M. de Vogué informs me that he now inclines to ascribe the vault system to the "first method." Such roofing was admirably suited to the subterraneous passages made in the wall giving access to the inner esplanade.

[1] DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, chap. v.

[2] PROCOPIUS, *Justinian's Buildings*.

of its age, and to formulate with absolute certainty,[1] that the stones of the "second method" were raised under Justinian.

Of the Single Gate, or rather postern, nothing is visible but a hole in the wall and a painted bay. There is no difference between the Triple and Double Gate, save in the number of their

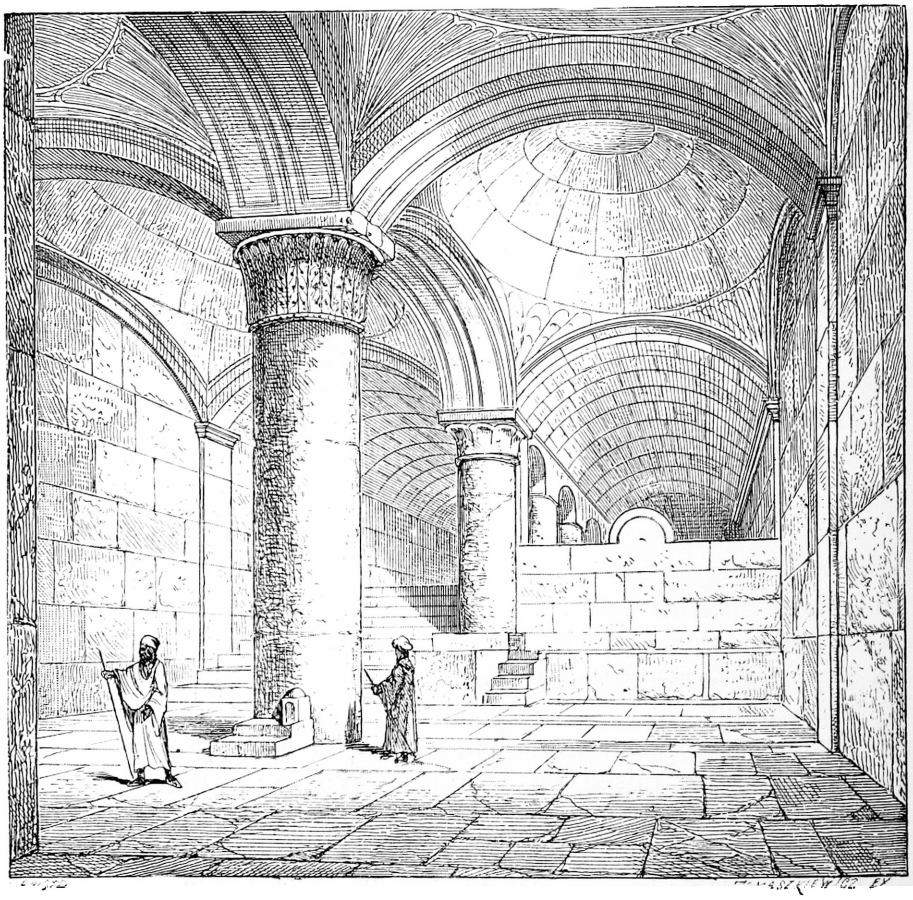


FIG. 121.—Inner view of Double Gate. DE VOGUÉ, Plate IV.

openings; and all that remains of the primitive structures, are *débris* that have been used in building some tasteless modern pillars; they suffice, however, to determine that the old portals were coeval with the wall. A monumental stone, with sunken face,

[1] DE VOGUÉ, *Syrie Centrale Arch. Civile et Religious du premier au septième Siècle de notre ère*, 2 vols, in 4°. Baudry, 1865–77. The learned author by this work has added a chapter to the history of architecture; for the greater portion of the monuments contained in his book had not been described before.

at the extremity of the first course, forms the sill of the doorway, with mouldings of decidedly Græco-Roman character.

The wall seems to have had but one opening over the Kedron valley, on the site occupied by the doorway which, since the Middle Ages, has been known as "Golden Gate;" from a mispronunciation of the word ὡραία, "beautiful," applied to this portal, where St. Peter is supposed to have worked his first miracle. Beyond it, in a space cleared for the purpose, stood the small church of Justinian, whose capitals, De Saulcy, with strange perversity dates from Solomon.

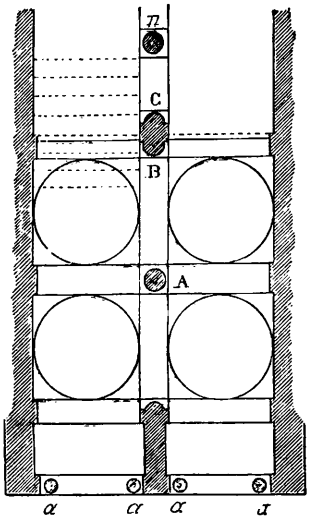


FIG. 122.—Plan of Double Gate. DE VOGUÉ, p. 8.

We now propose to review the substructures, which in places become great chambers, and which on the north-east support part of the area of the haram.[1] Those popularly called Solomon's Stables, are known to all travellers who visit Jerusalem. Here De Vogué failed to discover ought ancient, save some blocks that had been used in modern masonry. But Sir C. Warren was more successful. Under the Single Gate he penetrated into one of the passages that ran along the substructures of the temple and led outside. The passage, one metre broad by four to six metres high, was built of monumental stones with sunken face, beautifully wrought all over.[2] A second passage, identical with the first, was uncovered at the north-east angle.[3]

The existence of these subterraneous structures is attested by old writers,[4] notably Josephus, who states that when the city fell to Titus, hundreds of the besieged found shelter in them for weeks, and even months, until driven by famine they would appear, like ghosts, among the Roman soldiers encamped upon the hill. But in the siege which lasted from April to September, when the least

[1] DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, Plate XII.
[2] *Recovery*, pp. 132, 134.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 194.
[4] JOSEPHUS, *Bell. Jud.*, VI., vii. 3; viii. 4; ix. 11. The solidity and extent of these subterraneous galleries struck the Romans with wonder; and are noticed in the following words by Tacitus: "Templum in modum arcis, fons perennis aquæ, cavati sub terræ montes et piscinæ cisternœque servandis imbribus." These words are in reality applied to the whole city of Jerusalem.

rain fall in the year occurs, the besieged felt no dearth of water, although the Romans, to bring them more speedily to terms, had the supply from the outside stopped. This aqueduct, as well as drains to carry off used water and the blood of the victims, foundation walls, pavements, vast cisterns, and secret passages, instanced on the south face under the Single Gate, have been everywhere recovered.[1]

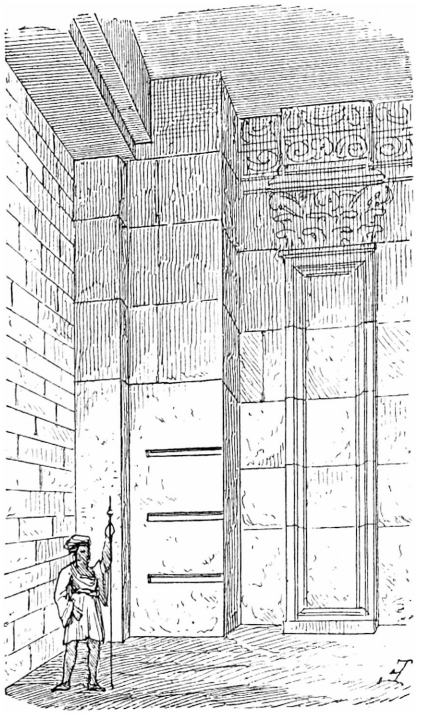


FIG. 123.—Frame of Golden Gate. DE VOGUÉ, p. 12.

Under the rock projection of about two metres in the centre of the Sakhra, is an irregular excavation or cave, now dry, of 7 m. by 6 m. 90 c. and 3 m. deep. It is descended by a flight of steps, eleven in number, and there is a cutting in the upper portion of the rock, which may be the opening of the cistern and older than David. In Syria, where springs are rare, it is not unusual to dig a cistern under the threshing-floor, situated, as we have seen, on raised ground. Why should Araunah's threshing-floor have lacked so indispensable a commodity for man and beast? It may be objected that cistern and threshing-floor were swept away when Solomon laid the foundations of the temple. But against this is the curious fact that the portion of the rock which forms the Sacred Cave has never been disturbed, and has always been jealously guarded by Mohammedans. The tradition which places here the apparition of the angel, to inform David that the plague was stayed, may in some measure account for the degree of religious awe that surrounds it. Most likely, however, this hollow, natural or otherwise, was used as an altar for holocausts, in which the priest could sacrifice unseen by the people.[2] What gives colouring to this hypothesis is a hole

[1] Fig. 119 shows one of the secret passages near the south-east angle. It will be found on a larger scale, Plate XX., Plans, Elevations, etc., Palestine Exploration Fund.

[2] Mr. Chaplin's supposition that the "foundation stone," *aven sheteyah*, was no

at the bottom of the cave hidden by a flag, which was found to be the opening of a well, connected with a drain, abutting into the Kedron.[1] Should this cave be identified with the threshing-floor of Araunah, we should have to look upon the "souls' well" as the oldest monument on the haram. For the present we must fain be contented with the mystery that shrouds this grotto, since the Scriptures, where we might hope to find it mentioned, have no passing allusion thereto, and we are left to wonder at the shifting of human thought and human activity at this very place.

For the sake of brevity, we may assume that the "second method" has been satisfactorily established, as dating from the Byzantine period, notably under Justinian. The "first method," distinguished by monumental stones with sunken face, will next claim our attention. In order to have its general outlines easily grasped, we shall go briefly over the history of the temple, down to its ultimate demolition, pointing out, as we proceed, that the foundation walls, which have been uncovered, formed no part of the temple of Hadrian, built to desecrate the Holy Mount and as a punishment to the rebellious Jews. We shall note the means that Solomon had at his disposal, and the skill of the men whom he employed.

As we have seen, Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign.[2] The circumstances of its erection may be read in Kings and Chronicles,[3] respecting the correctness of which no doubt need be entertained; especially Kings, where the compiler, on account of the technical character of the documents he had before him, was obliged to faithfully transcribe them. In all likelihood these were scarcely older than the building they treated of, and as yet untainted by the spirit of national pride and

other than this rock salience, is plainly contradicted by the Scriptures.* "Solomon," we are told, "covered the pavement of the house of the Lord with cypress wood." All was cedar, and no stones were seen. Had so striking a feature existed about the haram, Ezekiel would have recorded it in his vision.

[1] The well is called Bir-el-Arūah, "souls' well," by Mohammedans, who believe that the dead return thither twice a week in order to pray (DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, pp. 26, 27).

[2] 2 *Sam.* vii.; 1 *Chron.* xvi. [3] 1 *Kings* v.; 2 *Chron.* ii.

* *The Stone of Foundation and the Site of the Temple* (*Quarterly Statements, Exploration Fund*, pp. 23–28, 1876).

fanaticism contracted during the captivity and so patent in the post-exillic period.[1]

Among the men furnished by Hiram were Giblites, or men of the mountain, famous as stone-cutters and builders (1 *Kings* v. 18), whose city, Gebel, was not addicted like Tyre and Sidon to maritime enterprise; being contented to supply the two great emporiums with ships that sailed all over the Mediterranean. Who was the directing hand, or, as we should say, the chief architect of Solomon's important works? Was his name Hiram, or Hiram Abu, of whom special mention is made as "a skilful artificer," the son of a widow of the tribe of Nephtalim, whose father was from Tyre, and a worker in brass? The author of Chronicles, with his proneness to exaggerate, endows him with universal genius, familiar with every art; but in Kings the range of his technical skill is reduced to a thorough knowledge of "brass work." The number and the description of pieces he fabricated for the king are given in detail, and the place of his workshop is stated.[2] The fact that the name of Hiram Abu is the only one of Solomon's workers whose name has been preserved would be explained if we suppose that he combined the general management of affairs, with the strict supervision of the works of his special calling. These, displayed all over the temple, were of a nature to strike the vulgar far more than did the monumental walls around them. Hence the name of Hiram Abu lived in the imagination of the people, whilst that of the architect was forgotten. However this may be, there is no doubt as to his having been a Phœnician.

[1] Consult *Chronicles*. In them only do we find exaggerations that were so flattering to the national pride. As an instance of the same spirit in modern times may be cited a passage in Father PAILLOUX (*Monographie du Temple*, Paris, Roger and Chernoviz, 1885). The author has taken literally the words: "All this, said David, the Lord made me understand in writing by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern" (1 *Chron.* xxviii. 19). "It would be unpardonable," he writes, "to suppress a text or attenuate the sense, as it would be rash to hesitate recognizing the plan of the temple as a Divine plan," p. ii. A little further he alludes to "primitive plans, tracings, dimensions and explanatory notes," "scripta manu Domini." He is obliged to own, however, that they no longer exist; on the other hand, he thinks that in Ezekiel he possesses "second-hand plans," taken on the spot through angelic agency, p. i.; and this, he adds, with charming simplicity, is more than we had any right to expect. But specialists have declared that his restoration is creditable to neither prophet nor the angel who is supposed to have inspired it.

[2] 1 *Kings* vii. 13–15, 47; 2 *Chron.* ii. 13, 14. To avoid confusion, we shall designate Solomon's artificer as Hiram Abu.

The design and wealth of ornamentation, which we read of as having been lavished upon the temple, imply long experience in the art of putting together pieces of wood, be it as large timber for roofing, or the more complicated inner arrangement, such as ceilings, wall lining, door and window frames.

Before going further, it should be noticed that the blocks used by Solomon, notably those that were to serve as foundation stones, were of enormous size, some, as we said, may still be *in situ*, and if so, may be identified with those we have already described. Such an hypothesis is in accord with the opinion vehemently maintained by De Saulcy,[1] and coincides with what we know of the constructions of Solomon, as well as of the methods of the Phœnician builders.[2]

As for the changes that were made upon Moriah, to widen the space for the structures that were raised upon it by the son of David, we refer the reader to a former chapter; whilst the foot-note will tell him where to look for a circumstantial description of the same.[3]

The Chaldees did not destroy the foundations of the House of the Forest of Lebanon; for, as we have seen, they had been partly covered with detritus at the time of their erection, which the new ruins only increased. The second edifice, respecting which we have so meagre an account in Esdras, was speedily built upon the old site, and the altar raised for the morning and evening sacrifice; some old men, who still remembered the first temple, directing and pointing out to the workers the lines of demarcation.[4] As of yore, the builders were from Phœnicia; and the forests of Lebanon furnished the woodwork. As to its dimensions, they may or may not have fallen greatly short of the former edifice; for they are not clearly made out in the biblical narrative. But supposing them to have been the same as those of Solomon's house, the ornamentation and details throughout were, doubtless, as simple

[1] *Hist. de l'Art Judaïque*, 8°, 1858. See also, *Memoire sur les divers appareils de maçonnerie employés dans l'enceinte du Haram-ech-Chérif de Jérusalem* (*Mém. Académie des Inscrips.*, tom. xxvi. I° p.).

[2] See *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 108, 109, Fig. 6.

[3] 1 *Kings* v. 17; vii. 9, 12. JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.*, XV. 3; XVII. xi. 3; XX. ix. 7. Both De Saulcy and De Stade think that the Jews borrowed their "cubit" from Egypt through the Phœnicians—that the cubit mentioned in Kings was the "imperial or government cubit," estimated to have measured 525 c.

[4] *Esdras* iii. 3, 7, 12.

as possible; since it should be borne in mind that the Jews who returned from Babylon were poor and few in number.[1] Be this as it may, the second temple was consecrated in 516 B.C.[2] In its long existence of five hundred years, it does not seem to have been materially altered, nor to have suffered at the hands of the Greeks (Seleucidæ), or the Romans under Pompey, who succeeded each other in the ownership of Syria.

The last great transformation of the temple occurred under Herod. He was hated by his new subjects for his cruelties, his foreign origin, and for having caused the death of the last descendants of the Maccabees. To ingratiate himself with the Jews, and attach them to his family, he not only rebuilt the temple, but like his Roman patrons of this period, he seems to have been possessed with architectural fever, and to have filled Jerusalem, Palestine, and his own province of Idumæa with monumental buildings, many of which still exist. Tradition, and the religious feeling of the people, forbade the area proper to be added to or taken from; but there was no such restriction against the outer area or circular court. By taking in the site of the palace of Solomon, and a small piece of ground on the south face of the valley, he brought it to nearly twice the size it was before. He raised it some two feet above its former level, and increased its length from north to south; so that instead of being a square it was now a parallelogram, measuring on the smaller side, one stadium (185 m.), and two on the next to it (370 m.).[3] These measurements, given from memory, have no claim to be considered strictly accurate. In point of fact, they would be much within reality if we suppose him not to have used the Olympian stadium as his standard measure. But even so the relative proportions were preserved, since roughly speaking, they are those of the present haram.

[1] *Esdras* vi. 3, 4.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

In the speech Josephus puts in the mouth of Herod, when addressing the Jews (*Ant. Jud.*, XV. xi. 1), he is made to say, that the post exillic house was in height sixty cubits less than the first had been. A little further he states: "Our fathers were unable to build a temple in size and splendour equal to that of Solomon." Haggai, too (ii. 4), writes of the painful contrast the aspect of the new edifice produced on the beholders.

[3] JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.*, XV. xi. 1; *Bell.*, I. xxi. 1; V. v. 2. Josephus' measurement for the wall of enclosure is four stadia. See DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, p. 19, note 8, upon the real meaning of this passage.

Herod was prevented, for reasons given in another place, to extend his building proclivities from east to west; but he was free to do so towards the south of the sanctuary, where the soil is artificially made, and was supported by a system of arches which the English explorations have brought to light (Figs. 108 and 119).[1] This great canal is undoubtedly coeval with the oldest structures in Jerusalem; shown by the two fallen voussoirs belonging to the system of monumental stones with wrought face (Fig. 107).[2] The foundation wall crossed the Tyropœon at its narrowest point (south), closing the ravine; and would have stopped the outflowing of the rill or canal, but for connections in masonry that were raised to guard against so untoward a contingency.[3] If the acqueduct and the old bridge are prior to the captivity, the south-west wall and the upper bridge, seen in the body of the same, were certainly due to Herod.

If further proof as to the date of these structures were needed, we should find it in the stately royal porch, with its three parallel walks formed by rows of single pillars running from east to west, which occupied a terrace with face to the Kedron. Nobody has ever contested their Herodian origin, nor their being coeval with the structures under notice. The wall supporting the cloisters was necessarily very high, and rebuilt from the foundations.[4] "If from the top terrace one looked down into the depths of the Kedron ravine," says Josephus, "the head swam and the eyes refused to search into the abyss below."[5]

The area of Moriah had been added to on the north by the Maccabees, when they erected the Tower of Baris, providing it with courts, outbuildings, and gardens, so as to have a domestic dwelling as well.[6] Herod gave it additional strength, and its dimensions were much increased in order to give accommodation to his family. This citadel was well-nigh impregnable, and could have defied the might of Rome had not the Jews, by their mutual discords, played into the hands of the enemy.

If the stones on the south front be accepted as Herodian, the same origin may be claimed for those on the north-east angle, exhibiting similar characteristics. Hence the development of the

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem, loc. cit.* [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 110.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.
[4] "Ας μὲν (στοὰς) ἀνωκοδόμησεν ἐκ θεμελίων (*Bell.*, I. xxi. 1).
[5] *Ant. Jud.*, V. v. 1. [6] *Ibid.*, XV. xi. 3.

wall of enclosure might be represented by the following figures. In the quadrangle, the inner rectangle C E H K would, as near as possible, stand for the platform of Solomon's temple; and the twin small rectangles A L C K and E F G H cover the space built over by Herod.[1]

If we take together the authority of Josephus, and compare the drafted monumental stones unearthed by Messrs. Warren and Wilson with those seen in numberless buildings dispersed throughout Syria presenting identical characteristics, dated about the end of pagan era, we shall have strong evidence to go to the jury as to the blocks under discussion having been placed there by Herod's orders. The size and beauty of their cut, no less than those of Solomon's house, wrung expressions of admiration from all beholders. Josephus, with pardonable exaggeration, in writing of his country, says that the stones of which the temple of Herod was built measured twelve cubits in height by twenty-five in length.[2] The blocks at the south-east angle, if not reaching these impossible dimensions, are sufficiently large to explain his purely Oriental hyperbole.[3]

Still, on the authority of Josephus, as well as De Vogué, we would name two monuments in Syria presenting stones with sunken face, namely, the castle of Hyrcanus at Arak-el-Emir (date from 182–175 B.C.), and the tomb of El-Manasseh near Jerusalem. Of neither need special description be made, save that they belong to a debased age of architecture, having borrowed some of their forms from Oriental art—the animal frieze decorating the façade in Fig. 124, for example; whilst others are late Greek, recalling details in Robinson's Arch. But their distinguishing feature, that which is common to all monuments of that region, is the sunken face of the stones, with less surety of hand and elegance, perhaps, in the palace of Hyrcanus than on the haram, but near enough to be classed in the same family. In the tomb of El-Manasseh, great beauty of joint and cut are married to Greek ornamentations of the time of Herod I. or the Maccabees (Fig. 125).[4]

[1] JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.*, V. v. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, XV. xi. 3.

[3] Earlier in the book this exaggeration is carried beyond the limits of credibility, the stones of the temple measuring no less than forty cubits. He does not name, but he ascribes to Herod the greater proportion of the last building, the eastern wall being all that was left of Solomon's work (*Bell. Jud.*, V. v. 1).

[4] *Le Temple*, pp. 37–41, Plates XXXIV. and XXXV.; *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 48.

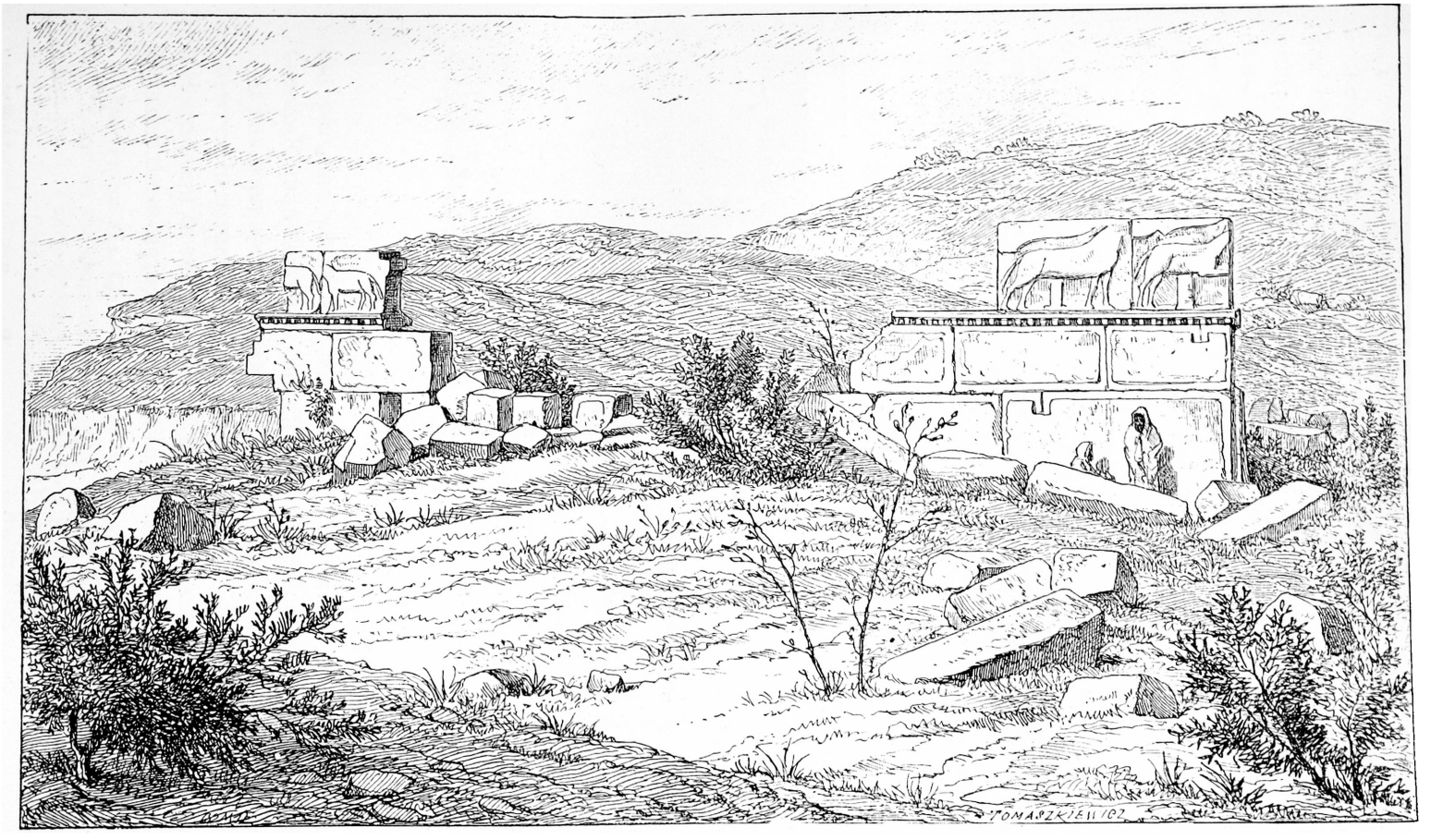


FIG. 124.—Ruins of Palace of Hyrcanus. DE VOGUÉ, Plate XXXIV.

To sum up, the south face, the south-west and north-east angles, are distinguished by the largest number of courses still *in situ*, exhibiting monumental stone blocks of admirable workmanship. Now we have shown that the south and north sides were precisely the points where the activity of Herod was more particularly exercised; that to do this, he had to break through the wall of Solomon and build beyond it. Nor is this all; the mouldings in

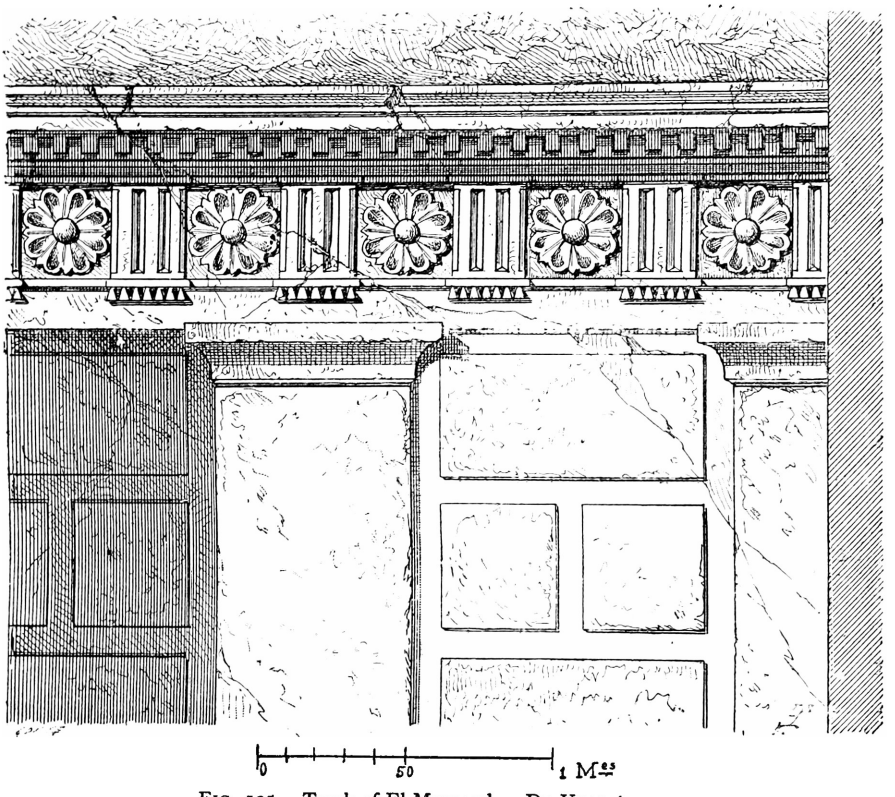


FIG. 125.—Tomb of El-Manasseh. DE VOGUÉ, p. 47.

the portions which we have called Herodian, are of decidedly Græco-Roman character, notably about the double and triple gates.

It has been sought to fix the age of these stones, from characters observed here and there on the blocks, and which were made with a sharp point or red painted.[1] But MM. Ganneau and De Vogué consider these signs, as did the late Emanuel Deutsch,[2] as masons'

[1] *Recovery*, pp. 142, 143.

[2] "Letter on the characters found by C. Warren at the south-east angle of the haram area" (*Quarterly Statements, Palestine Exploration Fund*, p. 33, 1869). See also Plans, Elevations, etc., Plates XXI., XXII., and XXIII., where the characters are reproduced full size.

marks, possessing none of the characteristics by which they could be identified with any dated, well-defined Semitic alphabet. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that some of the marks bear a distant resemblance to Aramaic letters, and that the dialect which these letters represent was diffused in those regions during the centuries preceding our era. Nor can more importance be attached to the blurred aspect exhibited in a red-painted block at the north-east angle. It is clear that the colour was put on at the quarry, perhaps to mark the place it was to occupy in the wall; for similar drops, doubtless caused by accident, were found in the quarries from which these stones were taken. Hence it may be deduced that *all the great stone blocks, with or without paint, with sunken face, which we have described under the appellative of "first method," belong to the structures erected by Herod.*

By this we do not mean to imply that there may not still exist traces of the coursed work which formed part of the first temple. All we maintain is, that the places where these precious relics might be sought with some chance of success, for obvious reasons, were not explored. It is not on the plateau that they may be looked for; here the rock was too near the surface to allow foundations to be of any great depth. But it is not unlikely that the primitive stones were used in subsequent constructions; that to suit them to the place or style of architecture they were intended for, they were cut and recut several times.

It may be asked, therefore, if in the substructures of the haram there where the line of the second wall was found to coincide with that of Solomon, we are not confronted by primitive stones, notably near the Place of Wailing. The fact that these blocks are identical with those on the portions of undoubted Herodian origin is not, of necessity, a proof against their priority of date. We may well suppose that Herod's builders were "practised hands," who aimed at securing uniform aspect to their structures, and that they found no difficulty in imitating the methods of their Phœnician predecessors.

This very fascinating theory is, however, indirectly contradicted by authoritative texts: "The old foundations," writes the Jewish historian, "were torn up and replaced by others." A statement he reiterates lower down in reference to the south wall.[1] Connecting links in masonry would have been inadequate, as means of

[1] *Ant. Jud.*, V. xi. 3; XV. xi. 5; *Bell. Jud.*, I. xxi. 1.

communication between Moriah and the west hill, the most populous quarter of the city. Great changes had intervened since the days of the monarchy. Then the old ramps leading to the sacred precincts had seemed well enough, but now they were deemed too long and too steep, and were replaced by causeways; whilst stately cloisters, such as graced the terrace of the temple, had been unknown to former generations.

The dispositions in the eastern wall were somewhat different; for here the deep incline of the ground was unfavourable to radical changes, so that the wall of Solomon seems to have been preserved. That this side was the work of the second king of Judah, we have on the formal statement of Josephus, from whom we quote: "King Solomon built the temple, the wall on the east face, and a porch on the terrace." Again he writes, that on the completion of the great buildings erected by Herod, the people, fearing that the eighteen thousand hands which would thus be thrown out of employment might break out in open rebellion, petitioned Herod Agrippa to order the wall and porch of Solomon to be pulled down. The inane request was not complied with, for the king knew too well that, though he might destroy, it would be no small matter to rebuild a wall of such enormous strength.[1] The site where we might expect to find Solomon's structures is occupied by Arab tenements. Nevertheless, the massive stones roughly cut, seen near the Golden Gate, may possibly have been in the primitive wall. But until fresh light is thrown on this vexed question, we may be excused if we refuse to see primitive stones in the "rusticated" blocks unearthed at the north-east and south-west angles; and we can say that we have no acquaintance with the typical work of the second king of Judah.

The domain of ancient civilization presents no parallel which, like Jerusalem, has had its past inquired into with such passionate and searching enthusiasm. Here science and dilettantism have often been united to fervent belief. Countries like Germany, America, and England, where the Bible is universally read, have been foremost in this field of inquiry, because they were always sure of the support of the general public deeply interested in all matters connected—even in a remote degree—with biblical events. No private individual, however wealthy, could have defrayed the enormous expenses represented by the researches and excavations

[1] *Bell. Jud.*, V. v. 1; *Ant. Jud.*, XX. ix. 7.

of Messrs. Warren, Wilson, Conder and others, had not the English people come to the rescue. But, after all, how much more do we know of the pre-exillic Jerusalem than we did before these explorations took place? What do they amount to? Those that bear undeniable characteristics of being ancient are: the two rock-cut canals, the rock-hewn structures, some cisterns in the sanctuary, particularly in the Sakhra; and doubtful, but possibly Solomonian may be the voussoirs of the first bridge over the Tyropœon, as well as the twin jambs of the Golden Gate.

This digression, which may have appeared abnormally long and dreary, and altogether outside the question, was rendered imperative in order to expose De Saulcy's theory—a theory all the more mischievous that it was supported by talents of no mean order, and a degree of assurance which, at one time, obtained for it the favour of the unwary. We know better now than to trust a scholar who deliberately adds on the trifle of eight or nine centuries to all the older monuments of Jerusalem. When we come to treat of the diffusion of Greek art in that part of the world, it will not be difficult to expose the fallacy of De Saulcy, which makes him ascribe the Golden Gate to Herod, whilst architecture and ornament are sufficient indications of its Byzantine origin.[1]

On the other hand, this discussion will not have been in vain, if thereby we have gained a clear understanding of the proportions of the temples on Moriah, and noted the significant fact that when the sacrificial altar was demolished, no other took its place, the temple itself being superseded by the synagogue, in which scriptures were read and prayers offered. Their ruins might be sought under the ashes that covered them, but atonements could no longer be made.[2] The exact site of the haram, around which so many memories have gathered, modern science, with no less ardour than mediæval Crusader or believing Jew, has striven to discover; and though unable to define it with absolute certainty, it is sufficiently near the mark to satisfy the most exacting.[3]

[1] Consult DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, pp. 65–68.

[2] Read the narrative of Kemal-ed-Din, reproduced by DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, p. 73.

[3] According to the rabbinical account, the sanctuary did not occupy the centre of the area; but was somewhat more to the north, and nearer the west face. The

If, as seems probable, the Sakhra has replaced the cistern of Araunah's threshing-floor, then the haram should be placed between it and close to the western wall, whilst the space between the sanctuary and the west wall would be taken up by the courts and the gates.

This would be, however, an inquiry of secondary interest, when compared with the restoration we propose to make of the temple of Solomon; not only with the additions it received under the following kings of Judah, but more especially as it was conceived by the prophets of the exile, notably in the vision of Ezekiel.

present mosque, Kubbet-es-Sakhra is, as near as possible, equi-distant from the north and south side of the present area. But if the space taken up by the Antonia or Baris Tower were admitted, then the site of the sanctuary would be found to correspond with Jewish tradition (*Le Temple*, p. 21, note 6; upon *Middoth*, ii. 1).



CHAPTER III.

ENUMERATION OF DOCUMENTS CONSULTED—METHOD USED IN THE RESTORATION—THE TEMPLE DESCRIBED.

THE site and the foundations of the monument which we propose to set up having been obtained, we must turn to ancient-written documents to demand of them the requisite materials for such a restoration. In the first rank should be placed the books of the Old Testament—notably chapters v. to viii. of 1 Kings, often quoted in the preceding pages. This book, as stated, received its present form during the Babylonian exile, about 550.[1] Many portions, however—the hieratic furniture, and the description of the temple,[2] for instance—if not coeval with, were written when the edifice was still standing. To the time of exile must be placed the dream and speech of Solomon at the dedication of the same.[3] Unfortunately for us, the terminology in the passage which enumerates the various objects are met here, mostly, for the

[1] Stade, *loc. cit.*, TH. NOLDEKE, *Histoire litteraire de l'Ancien Testament*, pp. 75–78, 1873.

[2] Stade is inclined to place this description some two hundred years after Solomon, *i.e.* towards the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century, The fact that the temple occupies more space, and is described with much greater precision than the palace, leads him to infer as much—for indications in the text itself show that the area covered by the palace was considerably greater. If the palace is thrown in the background, this may have arisen from two causes: (1) the decay of the Jewish monarchy, and (2) the pillage of Jerusalem by the Egyptians and a king of Samaria (1 *Kings* xiv. 25; 2 *Kings* xiv. 11, 14), resulting in the destruction of a great part of Solomon's stately halls. Moreover, when this passage was written, the temple had assumed more importance than the palace; which the compiler, doubtless a Levite, could not fail to notice. That he wrote before the Assyrian invasion is proved by the fact that the melting down of the brazen sea, and such bronze pieces as had been saved, is recorded as having occurred in his time (2 *Kings* xvi. 17, 18).

[3] 1 *Kings* viii. 14–61; *Ibid.*, ix. 1–9.

first and only time, thus precluding comparison or analogy. The ingenuity of the learned, therefore, has been taxed to the utmost in endeavouring to grapple with it.[1] This may have been due to the compiler having been unfamiliar with the works he struggles to describe, but signally fails to do. He views men and events from the narrow platform of the temple, or at best, from his own surroundings. His disquisitions upon the Mosaic Law leave the impression that this codex was the beginning and end of all things, as though it had been a rule to his forefathers long before they were called to the Land of Promise. Historical sense is violated in his exaggerated account of the treasure of David and the military force of the kings of Judah.[2] In his hand the picturesquely quaint portrait of the former is transformed into a lay figure—a kind of sacerdotal king. In addition to this, casual allusions are made in Kings and Chronicles to the various repairs and the enlargement of the temple, ranging from Solomon to Nebuchadnezzar, which may have been of daylight transparency to his contemporaries, but sadly the reverse for us who have not the monument to refer to. On the other hand, this very slipshod mode of procedure is warranty that the particular passage was not touched up, but was written on the spur of the moment.[3]

From the paucity of details in these books, we pass to the wealth and amplitude rolled forth in Ezekiel (chaps. xl., xli., xlii., and xliii.). Properly to understand this remarkable fragment, let us pause and try to view it from the standpoint the prophet regarded it himself. It is the last portion of the book; having been written during the captivity, when the glorified vision of the prophet perceived a new dawn for the chosen people. His youth had been spent at Jerusalem, whence he had been transported to Babylon, 597 B.C.; and told off to Tel Abid, where the news of the final overthrow of the city had travelled to him.[4] From that moment the one idea that filled his thoughts was the future restoration of the temple. In those pages, that read like the testamentary

[1] The annotations of Reuss betray hesitation at every step.

[2] REUSS, *Introduction to Chronicles*, pp. 38, 39. See also chap. vi. tom. i. Kuenen, *loc. cit.*, where this tendency, in the author of *Chronicles*, to gross exaggeration is pointed out. Stade, *Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 81.

[3] We have followed Reuss and Kuenen, and Stade (*loc. cit.*, p. 83) formally states, "La *Chronique* n'est pas une source;" nevertheless he admits the validity of certain portions not generally met with in Kings.

[4] *Ezek.* i. 3.

injunctions of the aged seer, speaking in the name of "the God who chastises but who is also able to raise up again;" he sets forth the conditions the fulfilment of which will bring about the reinstalment of Israel, and draws a graphic picture of Judah and Ephraim dwelling together in amity;—when the Lord shall have brought back the scattered remnants of Israel.[1] In this mood no details, however minute, are beneath his consideration: to a description of the temple are added disciplinary rules for the priests, oblations and sacrifices to be performed, tithes are enumerated, the land is to be parcelled out into lots for the twelve tribes; one lot being set apart for the Levites, without prejudice to the free offerings of the congregation.

With these prescriptive laws which have been not inaptly called a "theocratic charter,"[2] we are not concerned. Our business is with the temple and the reasons, not far to seek, that actuated the prophet to start with the sacred edifice. The massive construction of a visible and tangible temple, is to him as the foundation and warranty of the spiritual and invisible sanctuary promulgated in the Gospels.[3] Jehovah will again make the holy mount the place for his throne and for the sole of his foot,[4] amidst the children of Jacob. There the priests will bring the oblations and the prayers of the people; and in return the Lord will shed upon them the gifts of his loving kindness; symbolized by the fountain that jets forth from under the altar and flows out towards the east, turning the waste of Judæa into an Eden, making sweet and full of fish the bitter waters of the Dead Sea.[5]

The recital of the vision begins thus: "In the five and twentieth year of our captivity, in the beginning of the year, the hand of the Lord was upon me; and He brought me to the land of Israel; and behold there was a man whose appearance was like the appearance of brass."[6] . . . On the steps of his divine guide, the poet passes the outer gates into the courts and enters the sanctuary; noting what he sees along with the measurements of his guide. There are those who while admitting the full historical value that is to be gleaned in Kings and Chronicles, are niggard of their praise with regard to Ezekiel; whom they hold as containing no information, properly so-called; except where he transcribes

[1] *Ezek.* xlvii. and xlviii.
[2] REUSS, *The Bible. Introduction to Ezek.*, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[4] *Ezek.* xliii. 7.
[5] *Ibid.*, xlvii. 1–12.
[6] *Ibid.*, xl. 1–5.

from the two aforesaid authorities. His description, they urge, is vague and obscure; as to his vision, whilst having no foundation in fact, it does not coincide in its practical portions with either of the temples.[1] In a word the whole description of the edifice cannot be taken seriously by historians or archæologists, and is to be placed on the same level as the heavenly Jerusalem of Revelations.[2]

It is an opinion that we do not share; for on Ezekiel we shall mainly draw for our restoration scheme. The uncertain reading of many terms met with in Ezekiel was a difficulty felt by the Alexandrian translators. They got over the shibboleth by sometimes confining themselves to a mere transcript of the Hebrew word, without attempting to translate or comment upon it. This is not all; here and there, when they thought they were sure of the text, they paraphrased rather than translated, but their rendering is often diametrically opposed to the context, making a choice between the two readings a matter of immense difficulty.[3] This drawback and others too long to enumerate we do not deny; but we cannot help thinking that when viewed more narrowly, they will not be nearly so formidable as at first sight appears; that in the main they may be due to the fact that the Greek translators, like Hebrew scholars of the present day, were unacquainted with architecture or archæology and merely dealt with words. The thoughts of the former were chiefly directed to placing a version of the Old Testament in the hands of their countrymen or their converts, unacquainted or but with a slight smattering of Hebrew; whilst the work of commentators, not excepting the best, has been confined to purely philological questions. Feeling no interest in matters pertaining to art, they neither knew nor cared to learn its terminology. Had they shown any concern, a diagram by a specialist would, in most instances, have set them right upon passages that had baffled their efforts; whilst the Lexicon on which they too exclusively relied was little better than a snare.[4] This equally

[1] That is the reason adduced by DE SAULCY (*Hist. de l'Art. Jud.*, p. 163), for having made little or no use of the Book of Ezekiel.

[2] *Rev.* xxi. 9; xxii. 5.

[3] REUSS, *The Bible*, tom. ii. p. 125, note 5.

[4] Smend is a brilliant exception to the general rule. By means of his pencil he deciphered passages that had proved recalcitrant to his predecessors. His scholarly commentary upon Ezekiel (*Der Prophet Ezechiel erklärt*, von RUDOLF SMEND, 1880) is accompanied by a lithograph plan and eight wood engravings of the temple of the prophet.

applies to words that are not capable of being submitted to analytical processes and etymological derivations; the experience of the architect with regard to constructive work causing him to hit off the real meaning at a glance.

Then, too, we must demur against the description being called vague; insufficient it may be, in so far that it has no elevations; as if all the prophet had to work upon had been a ground plan. But vague is a misnomer, since every part to the smallest item is carefully tabulated. Now measurements taken from a ground plan undoubtedly give a clear idea of the interior distribution of a building; but the aspect the edifice will bear when set up cannot be obtained by this means—to compass which, recourse must be had to elevations; and it is these that we shall endeavour to supplement.

We now come to the more delicate question of what we are to make of the scheme of Ezekiel; how to discriminate between that which he drew from memory, as against the promptings of his rich fancy. Where, in this vision, does reality end and imagination begin? Where is the line that divides well pondered combinations from the crowding of his fertile brain? Who shall distinguish between the subtle workings in the mind of the reformer, and the memories of the Levite? We incline to think that the latter had a larger share in the scheme than is generally allowed.[2] In favour of this hypothesis, may be adduced the temper and proclivities of the Jewish section to which he belonged; clearly in the purely imaginative creation of the Jerusalem of St. John. His city is a four square, with sides measuring twelve thousand stadia (fifteen hundred leagues) in the building of which pure gold and precious stones have been the materials used. How is it possible to doubt that dimensions and construction all belong to pure fancy? Not so with Ezekiel; an edifice may be set up from his measurements which will not only stand, but in which the proportions of height, depth, length and width, hollows and solids are exceedingly satisfactory. Proportions may vary within

[1] Smend's words are to the following effect: "After all, it should not be supposed, that his (Ezekiel) description greatly deviates from its model, or that he substantially modified the relative proportions in the parts of the edifice. Data, such as that dealing with the three-storied chambers about the temple (xli. 6), seems to corresponds with its pristine state. Particularly noticeable is the fact, that throughout, Ezekiel assumes that the special detail he mentions is well known (*loc. cit.*, p. 367. See also Stade, *loc. cit.*, p. 326).

certain limits, beyond which the building will become disagreeable, or as if the merest chance would bring it down. To avoid this, it is not necessary to be an architect versed in the theory of his art; the practical knowledge of the builder or even mason will, in most cases, enable him to erect a structure in which the laws of stability, of form and aspect have been observed. Here, however, the greatest difficulty is in reading the text; this once got over, the monument lends itself to a perfect restoration, whose various parts fall in place, adjusting themselves admirably to a scientific construction. Before the exile the space covered by the temple was not so vast as that seen in the plan of the prophet; nor was the arrangement of the several limbs so rigorously symmetrical.[1] Until the fall of Jerusalem to the Chaldees, the sacred area could not be extended southward, this point being taken up by the royal palace. A small trifle like this did not trouble Ezekiel, who forthwith ruled that the sacred mountain should be in future the exclusive dwelling place of the Lord and of his priests.[2] Thus, by one stroke of the pen, he dismissed royalty, and secured ample space for the carrying out of his scheme. We read in Kings that the temple of Solomon had but one court, "that of the priests;" whilst in Chronicles, mention is made of an outer or great court, with doorways overlaid with brass, as being added to the edifice.[3] The porch was on one side of this court, and opened into the pronaos.[4] The other outer structures were the small chambers already referred to.[5] Are the discrepancies between the two compilers due to the fact that in Kings the constructions of Solomon are alone mentioned, whilst the Chronicles and Josephus comprise under the denomination of the "temple," the buildings that had arisen around it? To this question we can vouch no answer, save that in the seventh or sixth century there was an outer court wreathed with buildings for the priests of Jehovah, encroached upon now and again by Canaanites;[6] with a raised platform whence kings and prophets harangued the people;[7] with distyle halls too or doorways that could be turned into places of reclusion.[8] Then we read of an upper gate built by

[1] This is well brought out by Smend, *loc. cit.*, p. 317.

[2] *Ezek.* xliii. 7–9; Smend, *loc. cit.*, p. 352.

[3] 1 *Kings* vi. 5, 8, 10.

[4] *Ibid.* vi. 36; 2 *Chron.* iv. 9.

[5] JOSEPHUS, *Bell.*, V. v. 1.

[6] 2 *Kings* xi. 14; xxiii. 7, 12; 2 *Chron.* xxxiii. 5. Where "the two temple courts" are referred to as a matter of course.

[7] 2 *Kings* xxiii. 3.

[8] *Jer.* xix. 14.

Jotham ;[1] and of a new portal by Jehoiakim ;[2] of the "porch of the Sabbath," and of the royal avenue ;[3] of the Parvar, the house of Nathan-Melech, situated west of the temple, where the horses that figured in the pageants of Baal were put up, together with the upper chamber of Ahaz, where altars were raised to heathen deities.[4] Many more, no doubt, were the structures of which the meagre Chronicles have left no record, for no regular entry seems to have been made of the works executed in each reign.[5] Passing events fare no better in the hands of the compilers, except to recount, here and there, the discomfiture of their opponents. The great cleansing of the temple, for instance, under Joas, when the shrines, altars, and all the abomination of the Baalim were swept from the pronaos. Here too, or in the outer court, is supposed to have stood the temple of Baal, which was pulled down by the people after the death of Athalia.[6] If the Parvar escaped destruction, it was probably due to some idolatrous king. But the inner sanctuary does not seem to have been invaded, and Jehovah continued to be worshipped there even under his avowed enemies.[7]

These are but gleanings of a very fragmentary nature, feeble rays in a sea of darkness; but, however small, they enable us to get an insight into the cause of the fitful action of the kings of Judah, which has been too often overlooked. These rulers may be divided into three categories: in the first were the few, very few indeed, that exclusively served Iah ; in the second, by a long way the most numerous, were those who ranged Iahve along with other deities ; and finally those who publicly desecrated his altars.

But to return, careful inspection of Ezekiel's scheme shows that description in detail was reserved for the surrounding courts and chambers, albeit in his estimation these subsidiary parts were not we may be sure, of the same importance as the haram itself. But Ezekiel wrote for a generation to whom every detail of the temple was familiar; he counted upon the recollections of his readers to supplement, where necessary, requisite particulars and

[1] *Ezek.* ix. 2 ; *Jer.* xx. 2.
[2] 2 *Kings* xv. 35, and 2 *Chron.* xxvii. 3.
[3] *Jer.* xxxvi. 10.
[4] 2 *Kings* xvi. 18.
[5] 2 *Kings* xxiii. 12.
[6] 2 *Kings* xi. 18.
[7] This may be inferred from the fact that Joas was hidden in the sanctuary until his eighth year. The statement in 2 *Chron.* xxviii. 24, that the temple was closed and that burnt-offerings were suspended, is not confirmed in Kings; albeit the interior alterations that were executed by Ahaz are circumstantially made.

local colour. We know that that generation was not destined to gaze upon the land of promise; the day of the return had to be waited for another space, but when it did come Nehemiah had materials in abundance to work from. The precision of detail in this part of Ezekiel's plan could not be explained, except on the assumption that he described from working-drawings taken to Babylon, but which had been made at the time of the building and at the successive repairs of the temple.

That the drafts and drawings of Hiram's builders were preserved in the hieratic archives, may be inferred from the countless ground plans, diagrams, etc., recovered in the ancient temples of Egypt, whence we know, the Phœnicians derived their methods and their arts.

To the outbuildings shown in the plan of the prophet, already referred to, should be included the porters' lodges, chambers or watch-towers over the great gateways, safes and stores for votive offerings, vestries, sleeping apartments, slaughter-houses, kitchens, tanks here and there on the esplanade for ablutionary purposes, together with altars groaning under ever fresh sacrifices.

The splendid proportions and unity of conception which distinguish the scheme of Ezekiel, were in part realized in the second temple built by Herod in one year and six months. The naos or temple was small, and on the traditionary lines; but its inner porches, colonnades, and gateways, were on a magnificent scale, and testified throughout to Greek influence; whereas the art of Ezekiel, in so far as may be judged from the scanty ornamentation of his building, was Oriental—a combination of Egyptian and Assyrian art, such as had been known to Solomon.

The historical books of the Old Testament and the vision of Ezekiel are not the only documents that deal with the haram. Circumstantial accounts of it may be read in Josephus, the Talmuds and Targums, and, when properly interpreted, will be found to complete the picture and supplement one another. The Talmuds may briefly be stated as composed of two parts—laws, oral and corollary, which must have existed from the beginning of the Mosaic code, and which rolled on and increased with each succeeding age. Legendary ore, afloat among the various clans or neighbouring people which the doctors of the law, "elders," collected, expounded, and developed during the space of two thousand years. The Talmuds are specially concerned with the

temple of Herod; but as in all essentials it did not differ from the first building, we shall refer to them when necessary.

Josephus may be followed, allowing for occasional exaggeration, in all matters pertaining to the third edifice; but as regards the second and first, his information was in no way better than ours. In his time the men of the Great. Synagogue completed the revision of the Scriptures, and formed an authorized version of the Bible which has been universally adopted by all Christian denominations.[1]

One of the first results which followed the formation of the sacred canon was to throw discredit upon the books that had been rejected. The contempt with which they were regarded caused them to be neglected or forgotten; and, when ferreted out, it was only that they might be destroyed. Thus it came about that old fragments, and even complete works of incommensurable historical interest, found their way to the cheesemonger or waste-paper basket.[2]

The Targums, on the other hand—a Chaldee word, "to translate," "explain"—are a translation and commentary of the Bible

[1] Dr. Heinrich Bloch, in a learned dissertation respecting the merits and demerits of Josephus as an historian, proves that, despite all that has been said to the contrary, he was thoroughly familiar with Hebrew, and that when he wrote his work he used both the original text and the Septuagint, notably the latter. For as he wrote in Greek—a language he had acquired late in life—it was a saving of time and labour. On the other hand, his deep knowledge of traditional lore, or teaching of the elders, which formed the staple curriculum in the schools of Babylonia and Palestine, much of which is embodied in the Apocrypha, notably the Talmuds, enabled him to supply here and there a name or a gloss, not found in the canonical version. His method, too, of marshalling out his facts, savours of the rationalistic school of the Alexandrians, who hoped in that way to render their peculiar traditions more acceptable to their heathen converts.

[2] Bloch's judgment upon Josephus seems to us sound and equitable; but we think that he has scarcely made sufficient allowance for the individual proclivities of the writer, whose aim was to astonish with the recital of Jewish magnificence and the wonders attached to the history of his people, so as to win for them respect and admiration. His proneness to exaggerate is manifest when he states that the covered masonry was equal to the height of the building above ground. A glance at the platform of Moriah, or the plans representing it, will show the absurdity of the assertion. The rock here is everywhere near the surface, thus precluding deep foundations; whilst his ignorance of architectural constructiveness is apparent when he assigns to them exactly the same dimensions of length and breadth as to the building they supported. It is possible however that, writing from memory, he may have confounded the foundations of the sanctuary proper with those of the wall of enclosure. In that case his statement, far from being exaggerated, would fall within reality.

into Aramaic. When, at the return from the exile, all the ancient institutions were restored, it was found that the people who had followed Ezra—an illiterate rabble of no ancestry—could no longer understand the Scriptures in their own vernacular. Aided by men of learning and eminence, he founded that important religious and political body called the Great Synagogue, or Men of the Great Assembly, and entrusted them with the translation and expounding of the Bible.

To Ezekiel, however, we shall turn for our main evidence; him we shall follow step by step, even as he followed the angel; like him, we shall note the minutest indications, as if to us the interpellation, "thou son of man" (*Ezek.* xliii. 10, 11), were addressed.

We are bound to confess that the programme laid down by the prophet is incomplete. His silence upon hieratic furniture may, perchance, be explained by the not improbable fact that the finely wrought bronzes, etc., in the first temple had been in great measure broken or melted down, to satisfy the demands of Egypt, Damascus, Assyria, and Chaldæa in turn.[1]

His plans, as we have seen, are ground plans. Allusions to portions above ground are confined to the merest accessories—such as tables, sacrificial altar, and the railing around the sanctuary. His only important contribution is the pylon at the Eastern Gate (*Ezek.* xl. 14). Kings and Chronicles are not agreed upon the respective height of this pylon, and that of the sanctuary.[2] Nor does any reference, however faint, suggest the arrangement, proportion, or size of the façades. We look in vain for a feeble ray to light up with its glimmer the profound gloom that surrounds the contour of the columns, the distance separating them, the special outline of the mouldings, and the value of projections forming plinths and entablatures against the plain wall. Such are some of the difficulties that beset our path, questions that cannot be resolved in a haphazard fashion.

The first temple was built for a king of Israel by Phœnician craftsmen, who carried out the programme traced by the king with regard to detail and ornament, allowing for the special require-

[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] Is this discrepancy between the two versions due to the fact that, when the *Chronicles* were written, the upper storey of the temple, which was of wood, had fallen in?—EDITOR.

ments of the Jehovistic cultus by abstaining from the graven and sculptured images of the Phœnician pantheon, so lavishly distributed in their own places of worship. Thus far did they modify their general mode of procedure; but their style and methods were the same, and were not altered because they happened to work at Jerusalem, rather than at Sidon or Tyre, and were for all the world those which we have described in our *History of Art*, tom. iii. chap. ii.

Brought up within the precincts of the temple, Ezekiel knew of no art except that which was displayed around him, the main outlines of which had sank deep into his heart, and were among the first impressions his youthful mind had received. What more natural, therefore, than that his ideal building should have been constructed on the model of the Solomonian edifice?

For the purpose of our restoration, therefore, it will be legitimate to introduce the forms that distinguish the rare monuments of Phœnicia hitherto recovered; together with those of undoubted Jewish origin, spared by the hand of man or time. These, although later in date, exhibit the methods of an earlier period, and are irrefragable witnesses to the persistency of custom among certain nationalities.

On the architect will devolve the onerous task of selecting among the diversified materials. His success will depend upon his thorough mastery of Oriental methods and Oriental architecture.

The reader will have guessed ere now, that we have been leading up—not to a restitution of Solomon's temple, at best an edifice of slender pretentions—but to that of Ezekiel, a blending of idealism and reality, the last note of sacerdotal ambition, the supreme effort of Hebrew genius in translating its ideas into concrete forms and combination of lines subject to the laws of number. It is its finest artistic monument, the only one it ever created. If this be granted, it will cause no surprise, that yielding to so alluring a temptation we should have essayed to resuscitate the great document, whose image floating mid heaven and earth, passed before the wistful gaze of the seer as he sat by the open window of his tenement overlooking the river and the boundless plain of Mesopotamia; this image the Jews of the return were unable to transform into being.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TEMPLE OF EZEKIEL.

§ 1.—*Plan.*

THE end of chapter forty-two and beginning of chapter forty-five in the version of the Seventy, contain the statement that the temple, in its comprehensive meaning, is a square of 500 cubits on the side, enclosed by a wall six cubits in thickness.

These figures may be checked and the same result obtained by adding up the dimensions of the various structures comprised in the area[1] (Fig. 126). The cubit used here is generally supposed to have measured 18 inches. This, however, is of little importance, and adopted solely as a *mutule* which serves to note the points of touch, and bring out the proportions of the different parts in the composition.

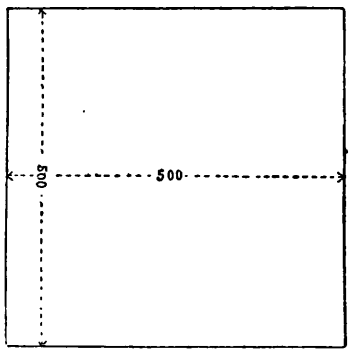


FIG. 126.—Square of Sacred Area.

The next item specified by the prophet is the Eastern Gate, 50 cubits in length by 25 in width (chap. xl. 6–16), which should be placed in the axis of the monument, *i.e.* in the middle of the east face of the square. Facing the eastern gate,[2] at a distance of 100 cubits, is another doorway of exactly the same dimensions, which opens into an inner court or square, followed by a second or temple square, then by a third, which for convenience sake, we will call after court. Each square measures 100 cubits on the side.[3]

[1] *Ezek.* xl. 5. [2] *Ibid.*, xl. 23. [3] *Ibid.* xli. 12, 13.

If we place ourselves on the second axis from north to south, the same figure of 500 cubits will be obtained.[1]

Having ascertained the exact size of the area, we will now proceed to distribute the buildings about it. The faces north, south, and east, have each a gateway 50 cubits long by 25 broad (*Ezek.* xl. 19–27), (Fig. 127). The *paved surface* interposing between these doorways is throughout 50 cubits deep, with small buildings towards the outer wall (*Ezek.* xl. 17, 18), the dimensions of which are not named. Facing these gates are other three which lead into the inner court (Fig. 128) (*Ezek.* xl. 19–29). The temple stands somewhat to the rear of the second court, and measures 100 cubits in length by 50 in breadth.[2] The length of

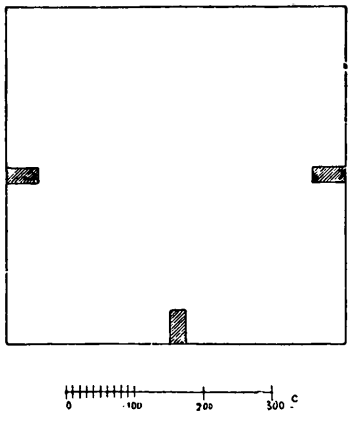


FIG. 127.—Exterior Gate of Area.

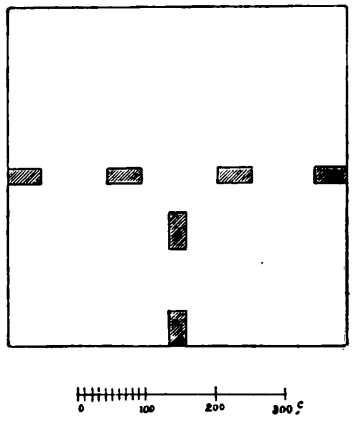


FIG. 128.—Exterior and Interior Gates of Area.

the sanctuary may also be arrived at if we measure the wall and the various buildings in the inner enclosure, whilst if we allow 20 cubits as width of the three halls or inner divisions of the temple, six cubits for the wall around it, four cubits for the after buildings, five cubits for the wall with the chambers, and if each factor be doubled, we shall get the 30 cubits which we want to reach the number of 50 cubits.[3] Here again, as in the other sections of the plan, the proportion between width and length is one to two.

[1] *Ezek.* xl. 15; 50 + 100 + 50 + 100 + 100 + 100. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] 6 cubits for the wall + 11 cubits for the depth of the vestibule, 6 cubits for thickness of wall west of vestibule + 40 for first hall + 2 for wall + 20 for second hall, + 6 for thick wall + 4 for depth of cells, + 5 for exterior wall of side building = 100.

To the right and left of the temple is an "open space" with twin courts 20 cubits wide, and other two of only five cubits in width, making with the width of the holy house 100 cubits cube (Fig. 129). The two primary divisions were first divided each into two squares of 50 m. on the side; and again into other smaller, giving to each face of the great enclosure ten divisions or squares.

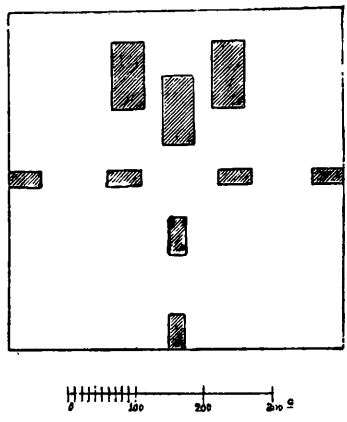


FIG. 129.—Gates, Temple, and twin side Buildings.

It should be noticed that the scheme used by Ezekiel was a "trellis plan," upon which he blocked out the main lines and great masses of the building, each 100 cubits on the side. Thanks to the recovery of this primitive but eminently workable method, the principal masses of our restoration fitted in almost mechanically, coinciding on the whole with those of our predecessors. Matters are not so easily settled when we come to examine the position and distribution of the outer buildings that interpose between the side courts and the principal platform of the temple, as well as the peculiar structure behind it. For the trellis principle, however excellent in itself, does not necessarily yield a just repartition and perfect balance of the parts. The disagreeable aspect and the gaps exhibited by restorations that were executed on no other principle than this will convince the most casual observer. Unfortunately, this portion of the text is exceedingly obscure, and has exercised—with small result—the sagacity of commentators. We reproduce Reuss's version,[1] the meaning of which is here and there difficult to grasp, but which is lucidity itself compared with the general run of translations, utterly unintelligible from beginning to end: "Then he brought me into the exterior court, to the northward, and led me into the hall which was in the internal court, facing the building on the north side, opposite a space 100 cubits in length, the width to the northward was 50 cubits, and faced the 20 cubits of the inner court and the pavement of the outward court [or the three-storied galleries back to back].[2]

[1] See Reuss's plan at the tail of his work.

[2] The words between brackets are given as gloss.

Fronting these halls, towards the interior, was a walk 100 cubits by ten wide, with doors looking northward. The upper chambers were smaller than the lower, or those in the centre of the building, on account of the galleries which encroached upon them, for they were three-storied chambers, with no pillars like those of the courts, and for this reason they receded from those on the ground floor and the central chamber, relatively to the pavement. Parallel to the walls an outer stone partition ran the length of 50 cubits.[1] For these chambers were 50 cubits in length towards the exterior court, but 100 cubits on the side facing the temple. The doorway to these halls was east when you approached from the outer court. Fronting the inner court and the holy houses, southward, were also chambers with a walk similar to that on the north, whose length and width were proportional to their dimensions and the doorways. And as the doors of these chambers were also those of the south chambers, similarly there was an entrance at the beginning of the walk, namely the avenue facing the corresponding enclosure, to the eastward as you reached it" (*Ezek.* xlii. 1–12).

We shall refer to this passage when we come to consider the details of the plan; for the present it will be enough for our purpose to point out the position that we assign to the block of masonry just described. Since these apartments are in front of the after space and face the 20 cubits of the internal court, it is evident that the temple square and the after court, taken separately, cannot yield the length of 100 cubits ascribed to these chambers; and that the length specified must be understood to cover both areas.

A glance at our trellis-plan will show the arrangement of these apartments, with a façade 50 cubits towards the temple terrace, and other 50 cubits towards the after space; "they are comprised, as the text has it, between the inner precincts and the "pavement of the outer court" (Fig. 129).[2] The side buildings, ecclesiastical and secular, being nicely fitted in place, we come to the block

[1] The 50 cubits are rightly taken as width of the chambers by Reuss.

[2] Smend failed to grasp the meaning of the text; the greater dimension of the side buildings being made to correspond with the north and south faces of the temple square. Reuss has more insight, note 56, but owing to his not having guessed the trellis-plan scheme, is scarcely less unsatisfactory. The length in question, according to him, should be put "no matter in what proportion" between the two courts. We submit that the proportion allowed by the prophet will be found in our restoration.

"situated in front of the after court, in the corner westward;" 70 cubits wide by 90 cubits long, not including the wall five cubits thick (*Ezek.* xli. 12). What is its position going to be? Shall we find its greater dimension, as we did for the temple, on the line that traverses the sacred area from east to west? We wot not; for even supposing that the edifice could be put near the enclosure wall, the space intervening between it and the temple would hardly reach ten cubits. But if we take the length on a line perpendicular to the axis of the whole monument, it will exactly give us the "open space" of 20 cubits, which, according to the text, should be right and left of the sanctuary (*Ezek.*, *loc. cit.*). There are still ten cubits to be disposed of, on the one side of the square mostly

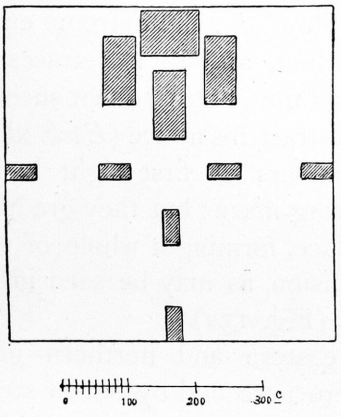


FIG. 130.—Gates, Temple, Side Buildings, and after Edifice.

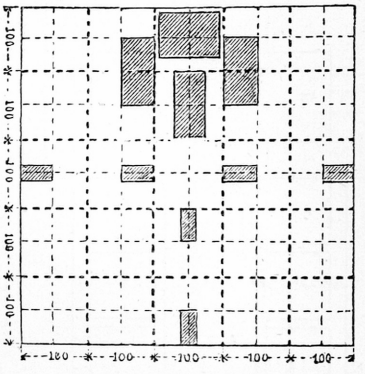


FIG. 131.—Trellis-plan and Principal Buildings.

covered by the length of the block of masonry, which will come in as a passage five cubits wide right and left of the building (Fig. 130). Here, too, we shall find 100 cubits, by reckoning lengthwise; thus: court, 20 cubits; width of building, 70 cubits; enclosure wall, six cubits; leaves four cubits for a corridor, which is but the continuation of that at the sides; allowing free access to the building everywhere.

So far we have followed the prophet, and sought to determine the place each of the primary divisions was to occupy on the trellis-plan (Fig. 131).

We now pass to the inner arrangements; where geometrical combinations will not help us to understand the economy of dispositions, sometimes sufficiently intricate. Here the architect, to justify his design, will adduce the wants, the destination of the

building, together with the special tastes, the manners and habits of the nation who erected it. On the other hand, he will be obliged partly to reveal the character of the elevation in his plan. That the Eastern Gate is not a mere opening in the wall, but a structure with some ten chambers at the sides, is clearly shown in the words of the text: "Then came he to the gate which looketh east, and went up the stairs thereof and measured the threshold of the gate; one reed broad, and the other threshold of the gate, one reed broad" (*Ezek.* xl. 6–12).

As will be seen, the prophet is no agrimenson; and has but a very small idea of how to economize his steps. For no apparent reason, he travels to the "vestibule towards the temple;" *i.e.* the extreme end of the building, and then retraces his steps, this time noting down such details as attract his notice (*Ezek.* xl. 7). The numbers at first sight look a bewildering maze; but they gradually fit in place, forming a whole of easy apprehension, as may be seen in our diagram (Fig. 132).

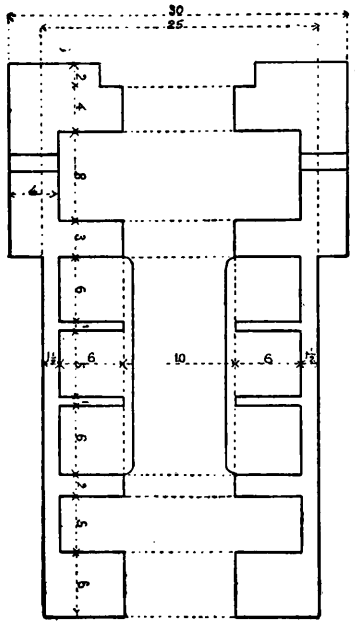


FIG. 132.—Plan of exterior Gateway.

The eastern and northern gateways were preceded by seven steps; there were eight for those leading into the court of Israel,[1] and ten for that fronting the temple;[2] so that the sacred area must be conceived as having been divided into three platforms on different levels, which ran from east to west, the temple standing on the uppermost. It is about the disposition of the Haram-esh-Sherif, the so-called Mosque of Omar, which is three or four metres above the general level of the sanctuary. Open archways preceded by steps led to the building (Fig. 133).

[1] Steps are not specified for the Eastern Gate; but we may assume their number to have been the same as that for the northern doorway, since we read that both portals were identical (*Ezek.* xl. 22, 27, 31, 32).

[2] *Ibid.*, xl. 49. The number of steps is given in the version of the Seventy, although not found in Hebrew text.

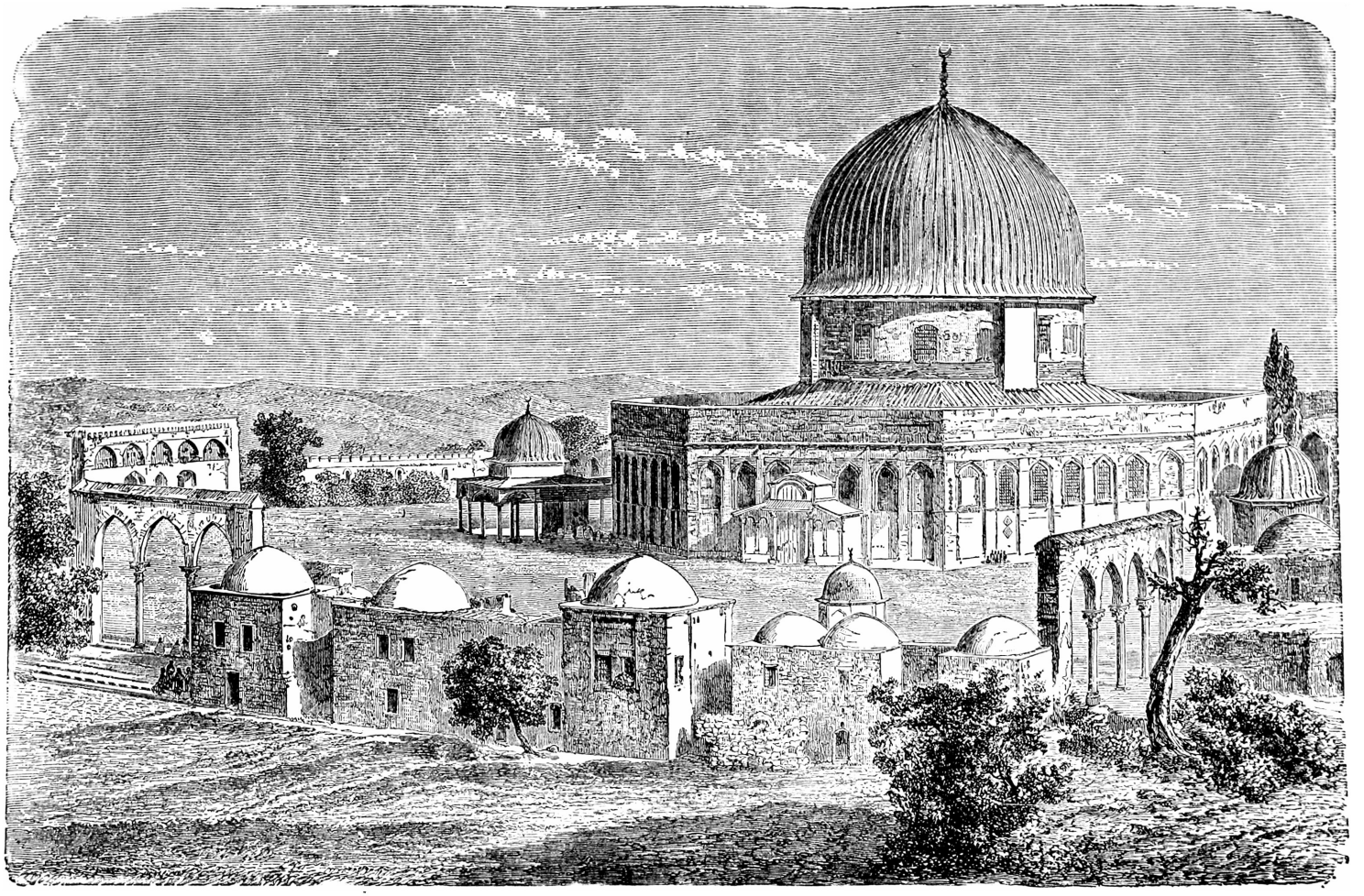


FIG. 133.—General View of Haram-esh-Sherif. LORTET, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui.*

The opening of the Eastern Gate in the wall of enclosure, is necessarily six cubits thick; the remaining five cubits which the text apparently places between the niches, we propose[1]—following the Alexandrians—to reserve for the vestibule in the doorway; for it is absurd to suppose, as all translators have done, a wall of five cubits interposing between cells, that at best would be occupied by doorkeepers, to keep strangers from the sacred area, and enforce decorous demeanour among the Israelites.[2] A thin wall of one cubit sufficed in such a position; which might be doubled for the more important vestibule and the first niche. If we admit this increase in the thickness of the wall at this point, we shall get the 13 cubits specified in the text for the "length of the gateway" (*Ezek.* xl. 11). The gate for Ezekiel, is the whole after part of the structure which frames the door properly so-called. Our illustration (Fig. 134) shows a building in unity with the principal mass both in plan and height; albeit somewhat in front of it. It comprises the vestibule with its two exits; one leading outside into the court, and the other into the passage along the niches. These are square, measuring six cubits each way, with a barrier to keep the people off. It is from this point that Ezekiel took the width of the structure: "From the roof of one little chamber to the other roof, the breadth of 25 cubits, from doorway to doorway opposite one to the other;"[3] *i.e.* ten cubits for the central passage, six for the cells, three for the thickness of the wall, including perhaps, the projection of the terraced roof.[4] That the after part, beyond the small chambers, was in the estimation of the prophet the more important section of the building may be inferred by the noble position towards the temple he assigns to it; as well as its ampler size of eight cubits, with pillars 60 cubits high, and "a court round about" (*Ezek.* xl. 14). These words tend to prove that the pillars were towards the court—for on the outside the gate did not project beyond the wall; nor was there a court right and left. The notion that pillars 30 cubits high could have

[1] *Ezek.* xl. 7. Καὶ τὸ αἰλάμ πήχεων πέντε. The Hebrew transcript αἰλάμ is generally understood to mean πρόθυρον.

[2] These doorkeepers were soldiers or levites (*2 Kings* xi. 5, 6; *Ezek.* xliv. 11; *1 Chron.* xxvi.).

[3] We must suppose Ezekiel standing in the passage with outstretched arms to reach the end wall of the twin cells on one side of the doorway, seems suddenly to become aware how exactly opposite they are to the other set.

[4] *Ezek.* xl. 9, 11, 12.

a diameter two cubits broad, was properly rejected as an error in the text,[1] but if we understand thereby the projection of the pillars on the body of the façade, all difficulty will vanish.[2] This salience was noticed by Ezekiel as he entered the doorway and measured its length from side to side, 50 cubits.[3] The width of the base of these pillars is not named in the text, and has to be determined by analogy. In reconstructing the plan, we were led to consider the posterior vestibule as the subsidiary part of a pylon of the Egyptian type. It is a feature which we note, and to which we shall again advert. Here, as in Egypt and Assyria, are twin pillars or towers, if preferred, on either side of the passage rising far above the crown of the doorway and the adjoining structures. It may be laid down as an axiom that no building can have its height increased, without adding proportionately to its base. It follows, therefore, that the weak walls at the extremity of the chambers, are not sufficient to support alone the heavy weight of the pylon, and that pillars with wide projection on either side of the central building must be thrown out, to provide the needful solidity. It will be observed that here again the proportion of height is double to its base.

We have worked our way to the first inner court or precinct of Israel, which was daily thronged with well-dressed people, even as the more important outer courts of the mosques at Constantinople and Cairo, with fountains and large spreading trees, are in the present day. No better place can be selected to study the natives who on special occasions swarm there. The terrace of Israel occupied two-thirds of the whole area, surrounding the enclosure of the priests and the temple on three sides, with gates east, north, and south. It was in this court, about the eastern gate, that the prophet noticed "thirty chambers on the pavement." He makes no mention of similar apartments having occurred at the other doorways; but thirty rooms would not have sufficed for the service of the temple; the portals, moreover, being explicitly stated to have been identical, must imply identicity of distribution.

[1] *Ezek.* xl. 14. The figures in the version of the Seventy do not coincide with other versions.

[2] *Ezek.* xl. 9: And he measured the vestibule of the doorway, eight cubits; and its pillars two cubits.

[3] Reuss is somewhat contradictory, for at one time, note 9, he includes the two cubits of the pillars in the 50 cubits; whilst at note 10, he specifies a base "one metre in width."

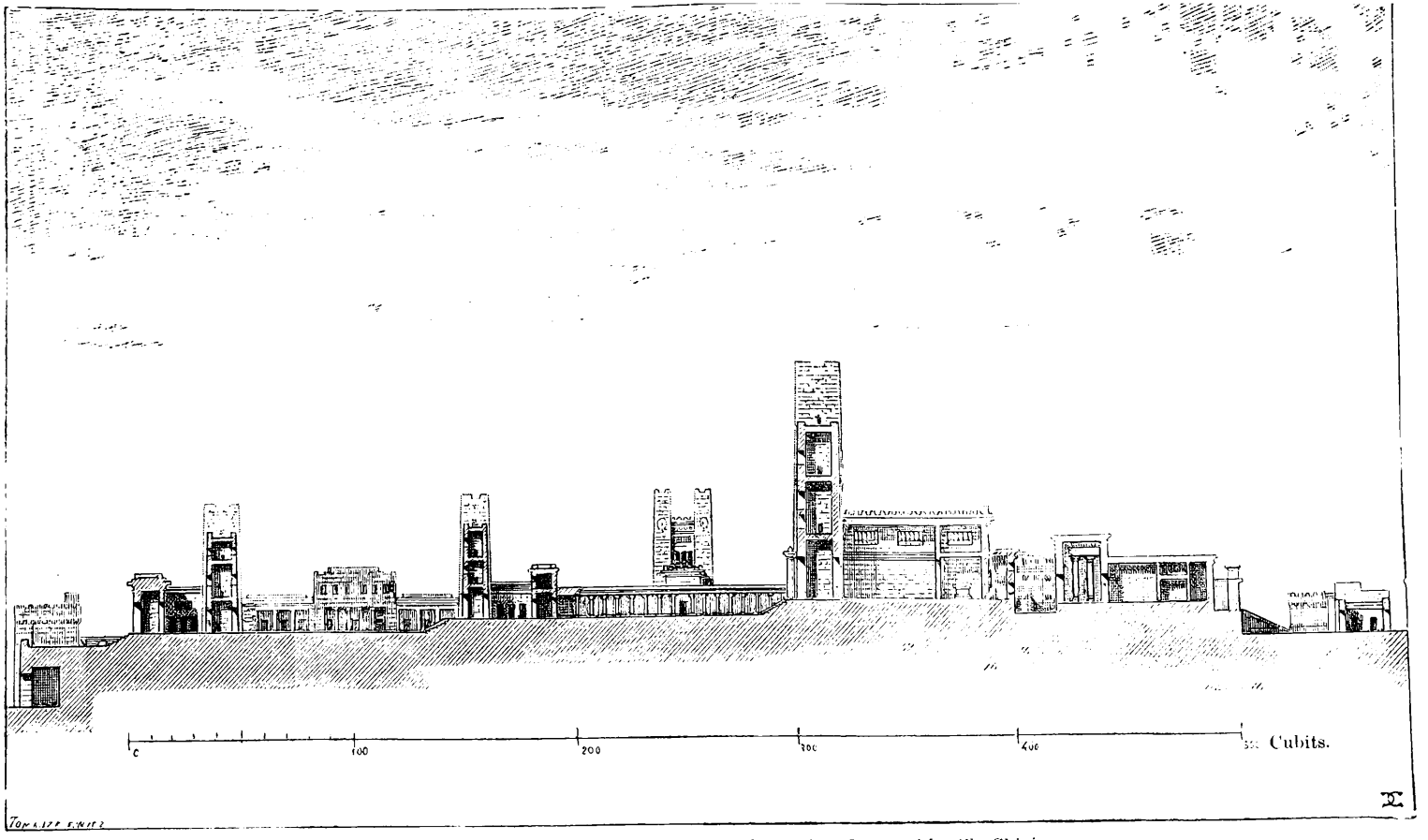


FIG. 134.—Section through longitudinal axis of Temple. Restored by Ch. Chipiez.

Then, too, the word which has been translated by "chamber" bears a much wider meaning in Hebrew, and might with equal propriety be rendered by "warehouse," "dormitory," "house," "office," etc. We may assume, therefore, that the buildings under notice were not all on the same pattern, but that here and there diversity of detail existed without destroying the symmetry of the general outline. All were near the wall of enclosure; the more important opened into the paved court, whilst the niches about the doorways did not project beyond the wall.

Porches are not specified in the text, yet it is not credible that so universal a feature in all Oriental public buildings of importance should have been omitted here. Their necessity being so obvious may account for the silence of Ezekiel; nevertheless, he alludes to some such arrangement when he states that the piers of the three-storied chambers were unlike those in the courts.[1] We need not see more in these pillars than supports to covered walks, always met with in Oriental buildings, be they of a secular or religious character (*Ezek.* lxii. 16).

The outer court leads naturally into the inner or upper court, reserved for the service of the temple and the priests; laymen being only admitted on particular occasions. It was necessarily smaller, with three gates opening into it facing those of the exterior terrace, and exactly similar to them, with this difference—indicated in the text—that the arches of these gates did not rise over the plane of the inner enclosure, but "were towards the exterior court" (*Ezek.* lx. 28–34). From the principal platform was obtained perhaps the finest architectural effect in the world, as the eye travelled down a noble line of buildings, and rows upon rows of arches flanking the court. This court, it will be remembered, measured 100 metres each way. If on this surface we put the whole width of the cloisters there will not be sufficient room to walk round the altar of burnt offering, or the brazen sea, or the tanks about the court. But if, recollecting that the length of the gateway with its vestibule was 50 cubits, we take it as the width of the gallery, it will free the court and enable us to protract the line of arches, thus heightening architectural effect.

Facing the court, near the entrance, was the vestibule with four tables, upon which the victims were laid, cleansed, and quartered.[2] Others there were, although not specified, and may have been

[1] *Ezek.*, *loc. cit.* [2] *Ibid.* xl. 38, 39.

located along the remaining sides of the court, or in the building which we have placed right and left of the doorway, behind the open walk. Ezekiel is alluding to these chambers when he writes: "And the hooks were an hand broad, and upon the tables the flesh of the offering" (*Ezek.* lx. 43). These rooms or butchers' shops were walled up at the back; we have supposed them opening like a porch into the court, with a light awning or curtain, which a movement of the hand could draw back or across the arch —a custom of general practice in warm countries. Here, upon suspension hooks "a palm broad," hung the skins and quartered animals. Next to these, at the south-east and north-east angles, were twin chambers for the priests[1] facing two small squares at the opposite angles, where for the sake of symmetry and the general economy of the plan we have put two corresponding apartments, that doubtless existed here albeit not specified in the text. A glance at our cut (Fig. 135) will illustrate better than word-painting the advantage of having at the four corners of the court buildings to break the monotonous outline of the long colonnade.

The sanctuary as the centre, round which were grouped immense courts with glistening pavement and vast edifices, could not but be possessed of a porch analogous to the pylons of the inner enclosures, save that its proportions were on a greater scale, and that instead of measuring 25 cubits, as the other doorways, it was 50 cubits from side to side, with a projection of five cubits either way on the body of the temple, making its entire width 60 cubits by 20 (Fig. 136). Somewhat in front of the façade were twin pillars one on each side. To them we will refer again later on, when we shall adduce our reasons for having detached them from the edifice.

The centre of this block of masonry, in the line of the temple, was occupied by a vestibule 20 cubits long by 11 broad,[2] with remaining space on the sides for a narrow stairs, a porter's lodge, and passages leading to the little squares of the sanctuary, or on to the passage which ran along the small outer chambers (Fig. 137). These means of egress to the north and south fully coincide with the text we are following.[3] The orientation of the temple

[1] Read *Ezek.* xl. 44–46.

[2] The 20 cubits' *length* in the text are clearly meant for the vestibule, since the greater dimensions of the porch are in the other direction from east to west.

[3] 1 *Kings* vi. 5, 8–10; *Ezek.* xli. 6–11.

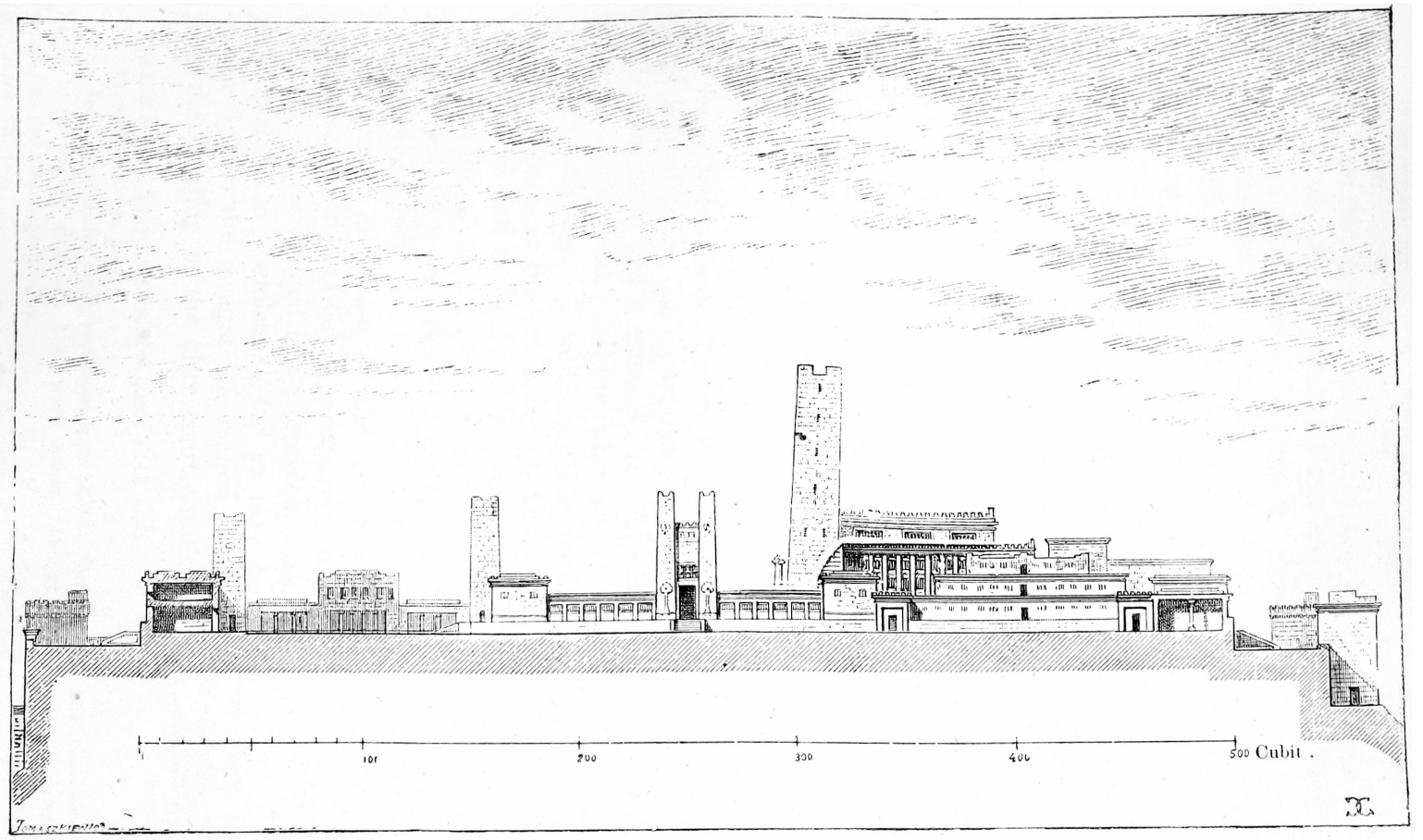


FIG. 135.—Longitudinal section through Court of Israel from side of Temple. Restored by Ch. Chipiez.

pointed to the east, where "the glory of Israel" appeared to the prophet.[1] This was not induced by its being on a narrow ridge, but from a deep-rooted tradition and in imitation of a solar temple, that the first ray of the fiery orb might fall on the statue of the god or on the mercy-seat, as the case might be.[2]

The sanctuary consisted of two divisions or halls. The first immediately within the door,

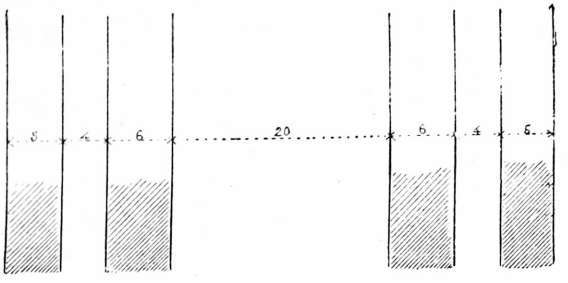


FIG. 136.—Elements of Width of Temple.

naos, hecal, palace, was followed by a smaller hall or holy of holies, dabir, posterior or farthest end.[3] The hecal was a rectangle, 40 cubits in length by 20 in width; and the dabir, a square 20 cubits each way. A wall, six cubits thick, intervened between the vestibule and the naos; and a second wall two cubits high divided the latter from the adytum. The door to the larger hall or hecal was ten cubits, and that to the holy of holies five cubits.[4]

The greater dimension of the temple was lengthwise, like that of Greek sanctuaries; and, like them, it was divided into a protyron, naos, and opisthodom; whilst, so far as may be gathered from the meagre information of the text, the building in the after court recalls a

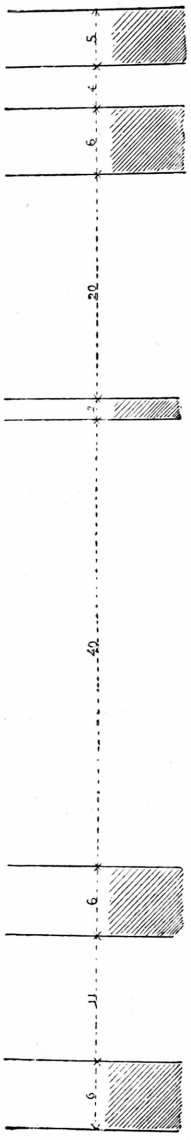


FIG. 137.— Elements of Length of Temple.

[1] *Ezek.* xliii. 1, 2; JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.*, VIII. iii. 2.

[2] STADE, *Geschichte*, p. 327.

[3] St. Jerome translates *dabir*, *oraculum*, from *dabbar*, "to speak;" but it is more likely to be derived from the Arab word *dabar*, "to be behind," whence *dabir*, which has the same signification.

[4] *Ezek.* xli. 1–5.

similar arrangement about Egyptian temples. Like these, it is surrounded by an open space, which in Egypt intervened between it and the sacred enclosure, or, as the text has it, "with twin galleries at the side."[1] Now galleries imply a porch such as we have put here; and not to leave a blank in the plan, we have restored the interior of this building, which was no other than the parbar or parvar, dedicated to the sun god, already referred to in another place. Nor was this a new structure; for long before the time of Josias, a heathen fane had stood there, which Ezekiel must have been cognisant of, but which he dismisses with a few words as a distasteful subject.[2]

Assuming that our hypothesis will be admitted as at least possible, we have placed here a temple of Egyptian type, distinguished by a double gateway, repositories for the service of the god, together with a small secos, or adytum, surrounded by a narrow corridor. Leaving this mysterious edifice, we pass to the twin halls which intervene between the two lateral enclosures of the sanctuary and the after court. A walk 100 cubits by ten extends along them, dividing the block into two halves. They were entered on the east by a passage with a perpendicular opening into the exterior platform. The doors of these chambers faced north, towards the precincts of Israel. As these buildings were three stories high, we have given additional thickness to the walls, and provided them besides with numerous supports to enable them to bear the pressure that would be put upon them by the roofs of the porches.[3] Behind these halls are two open spaces or small squares, each with an outlet—one by a narrow opening into the court of Israel, and the other on the opposite side, by a flight of steps leading to the outward terrace, known afterwards as the court of the Gentiles—the free space of 50 cubits in Ezekiel's plan.[4] In our restoration, the four corners of the outer platform are provided each with a watch-tower of no particular height. The main entrance is on the east side, which the prophet reserved for the sole use of the king. The palace stood on Mount Ophel, towards the south of Moriah. Its outer buildings on the south face, where we have restored two doorways, were conterminous with the sacred area. The reasons that have deterred us from attempting a restoration of the royal palace, as well as the

[1] *Ezek.* xli. 14. [2] 1 *Chron.* xxvi. 18; *Ezek.* xli. 15; 2 *Kings* xxvi. 11.
[3] *Ezek.* xlii. 4–14. [4] *Ibid.*, xlv. 2.

sanctuary, will be appreciated by those who are able to understand the stupendous difficulties of the undertaking, from the fact of our almost perfect ignorance in regard to the house of Solomon. All we know is that it rose between the two ridges that sink southward, where the wall of Ophel was uncovered.[1] At the south-west angle are old buildings, perhaps those formerly known as Mikkad. As the direction of the walls of circumvallation is still *sub judice*, we have refrained giving more than a bare outline of them, just enough to enable us to define the position of the sanctuary in touch with these mighty ramparts.

On the south face of the court of the Gentiles are structures that we think were the stables of the parvar, which the text seems to locate beyond the area; but even so nothing was easier than to connect them with the heathen fane, by one of the numerous underground passages in the haram. Of the doorways on this terrace, some, we have supposed, preceded by eight or ten steps; and those on the north and east faces by subterraneous ramps, which abutted on to the platform where inclined planes facilitated the ascent of the animals about to be sacrificed, which were led on to the wide post or landing of the gate where the whole multitude could see them.

The plan of which we have explained and justified the ordinance, is clear and complete. It accounts for the dispositions taken in view of the services of the temple, together with the buildings and courts comprised in the area. Nevertheless, nobody, not even an architect, would be able to realize the aspect of the whole building, solely from the maze of lines crossing and re-crossing each other on the paper. As well might you expect to recognize a man from the impress left by his foot. Look at it as you may, it will yield no indication as to the colour of his hair, the expression of his face. Hence, if we stopped short here, our work would be vain and incomplete—not worth the trouble it has cost us. Whatever the difficulties, therefore, we must restore the elevation as we have restored the ground plan—reconstruct the edifice from base to crown.

[1] The wall of Ophel, uncovered by Messrs. Warren and Wilson in 1884, is post exillic, at least in the parts above ground.

§ 2. *Elevation of the Temple.*

The problem which we approach in this second part of our study would be insoluble were we wholly to depend for our information upon Kings and the prophet. Fortunately, however, where these fail, contemporaneous monuments, Jewish and Phœnician, will supplement lacunæ; albeit we are bound to confess that our plan is on too reduced a scale adequately to show our results (Plate II.). It is superfluous to say that invention and conjecture will play a far more important part than heretofore; although

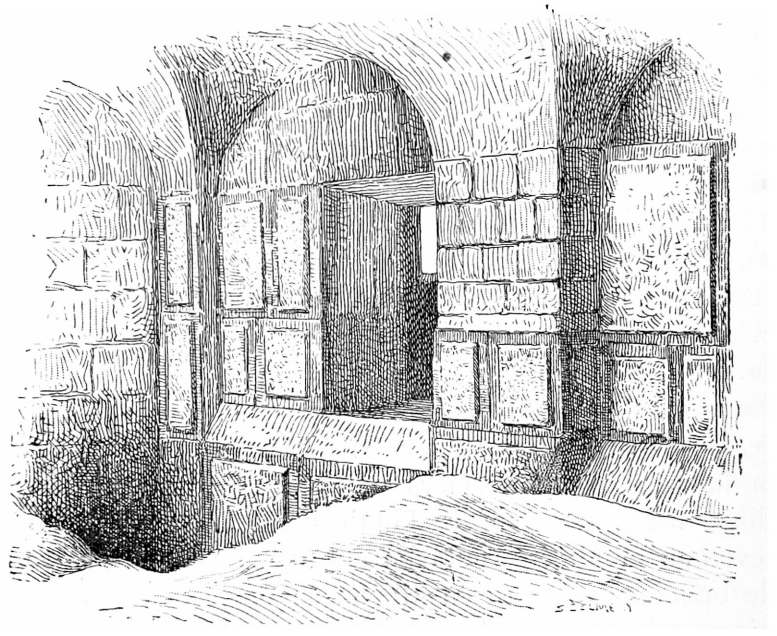


FIG. 138.—Fragment of the Haram Wall.

aiming at presenting an *imago veri*, determined in a certain measure by the ground plan. Keeping in sight this all-important relation between plan and elevation, we do not despair of reaching our goal.

The great terrace wall seen in front of the area, corresponds with Solomon and Herod's enclosure. From the remains of these stupendous structures, exhibiting stones finely wrought, with sunken face and accentuated batter, we have borrowed the lower part of our wall; whilst the upper portion has been restored from a fragment of Herod's rampart, at the north-east angle of the haram; still *in situ* (Fig. 138), and in good preservation. There

is a window which belongs to the first system; but is surrounded by courses of the second; then a modern arch, and a whole series of semi-detached pillars, built with small stones.[1] These buttresses

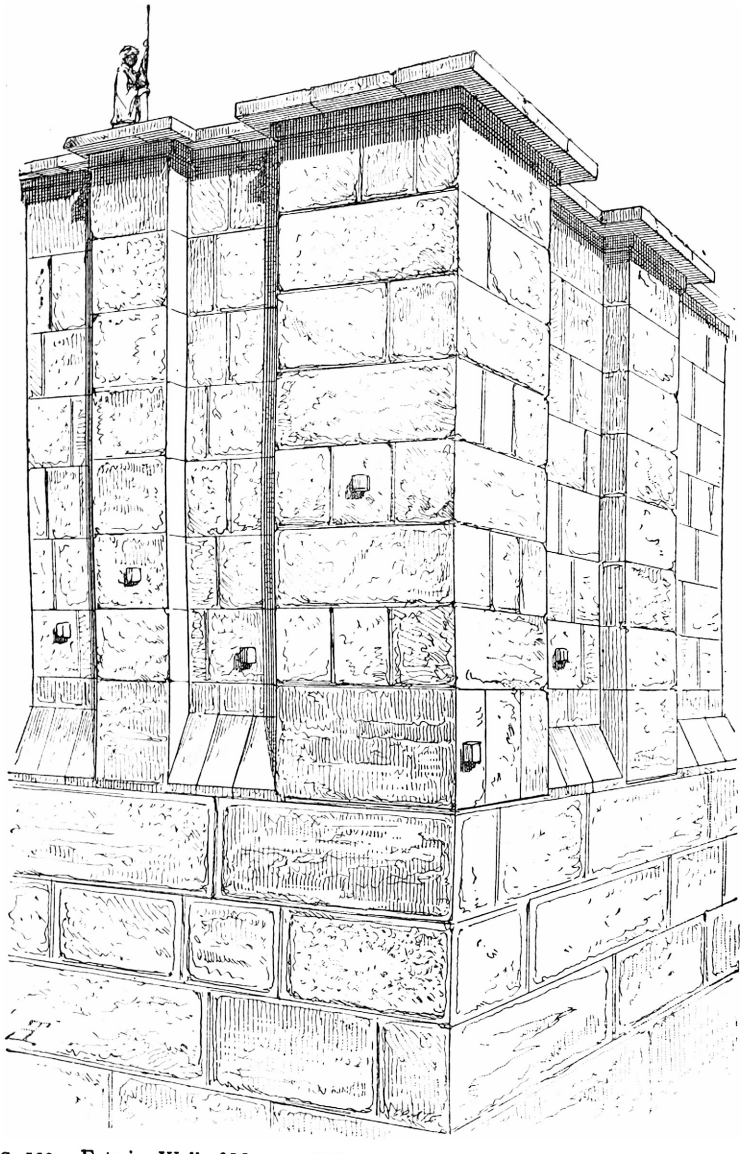


FIG. 139.—Exterior Wall of Mosque, Hebron. Perspective view. DE VOGUÉ, p. 119.

were not a mere decorative feature, but meant as supports to the wall where it rises above the haram level; when, having no longer

[1] Consult the *Recovery*, "Masonry of the Haram," Col. C. W. Wilson, and tail notes by Messrs. Conder and Warren.

to carry earth heaped at its base, it lost part of its thickness to facilitate the piercing of doors and windows; but this diminution of bulk was compensated by outer supports 1 m. 69 c. in width, placed at stated intervals of 2 m. 91 c.; a bevelled plinth occurring to mark difference of construction. The wall between these pilasters was straight, whilst everywhere else a batter averaging from 0 m. 10 c. to 0 m. 12 c. is the rule. Another instance of this sunken face and ordinary bevel of early date is found in the wall of the mosque at Hebron, in the crypt of which a late tradition places the remains of the patriarch Abraham. It is doubtful whether it dates from the Maccabees or the Idumæan dynasty;[1] but it is certain that its builder owed nothing to the art of Greece; ornament and constructiveness being of a decided Phœnician character. This striking ordinance, consecrated by hoary tradition, met with in places far apart from each other, we have framed with plain stones to impart variety of aspect to an extensive mural surface. The sunken face has been restricted to the lower portion or base of the wall, whilst an unpretending cornice and embattled edge ornament the top.[2] This device was in great favour with the Phœnician builder, who introduced it everywhere as a means of decoration. It is in perfect harmony with the construction of the temple, which, to a certain extent, was a fortress. To carry out this architectural feature, therefore, we have put two-storied towers at the four corners of the enclosure.[3] The windows at different levels serve the double purpose of breaking the monotony of a bare wall, and to let in light in the multitudinous subterraneous chambers and passages. The simple grandeur of style in the wall of Solomon (Plate III.) is without parallel in the old world, except perhaps in early Greek structures, such as the wall of Micenæ, for instance.

A whole system of arches or vaults supported the way which led to the main entrance, necessarily found at the external court of the Gentiles. It was but an opening into the wall, with a single pillar slightly projected on each side of the doorway, of a type common on the banks of the Nile, as were mullioned windows, which we have restored throughout in the buildings that encompass the court of Israel.[4] They receive the light at the back from the

[1] RENAN, *Mission en Phénicie*, pp. 799–807.
[2] *Hist. de l'Art*, tom. iii. pp. 131, 132, Figs. 77, 78.
[3] *Ezek., loc. cit.*
[4] *Hist. of Art*, tom. i. p. 344, Fig. 206.

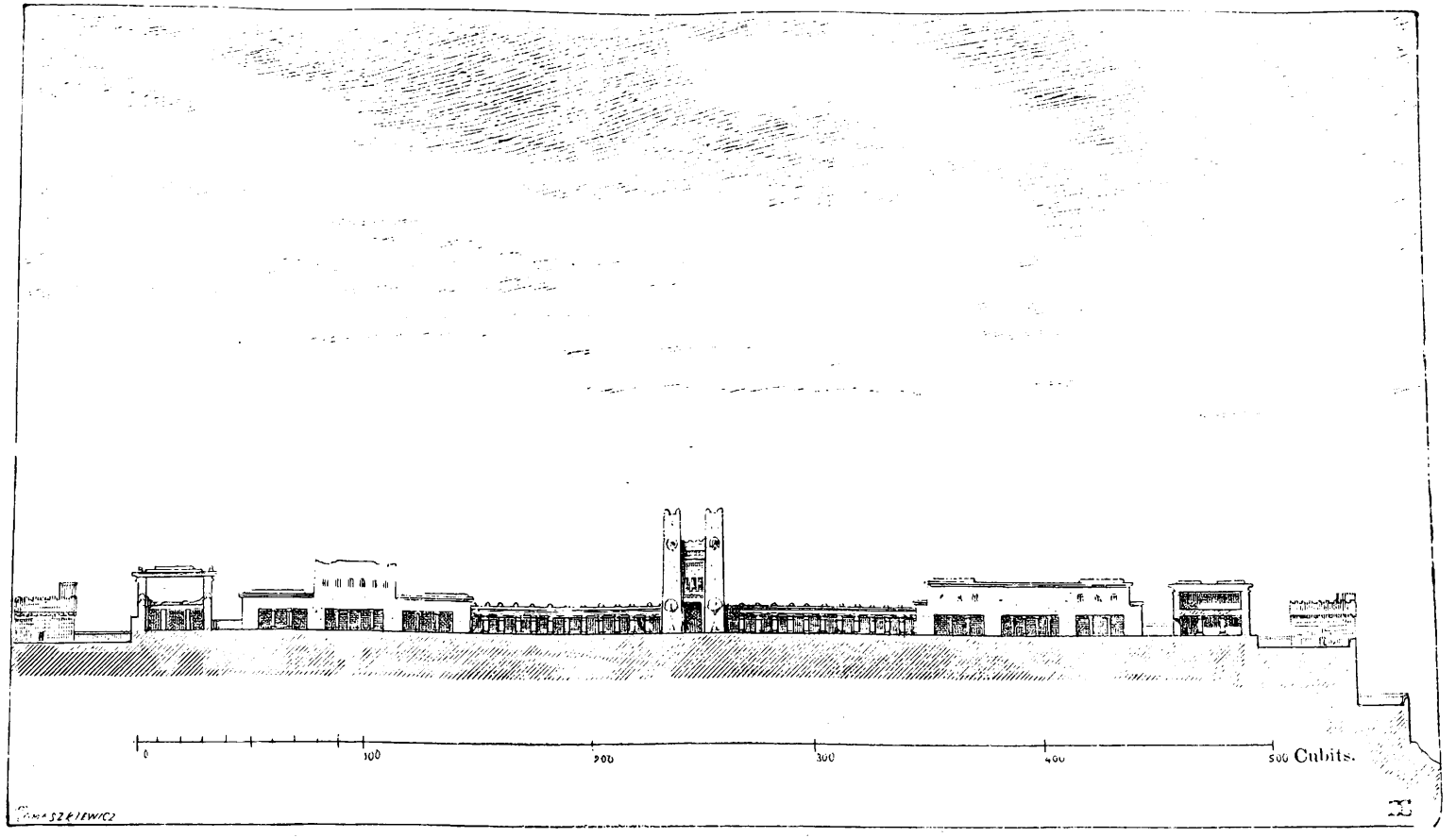
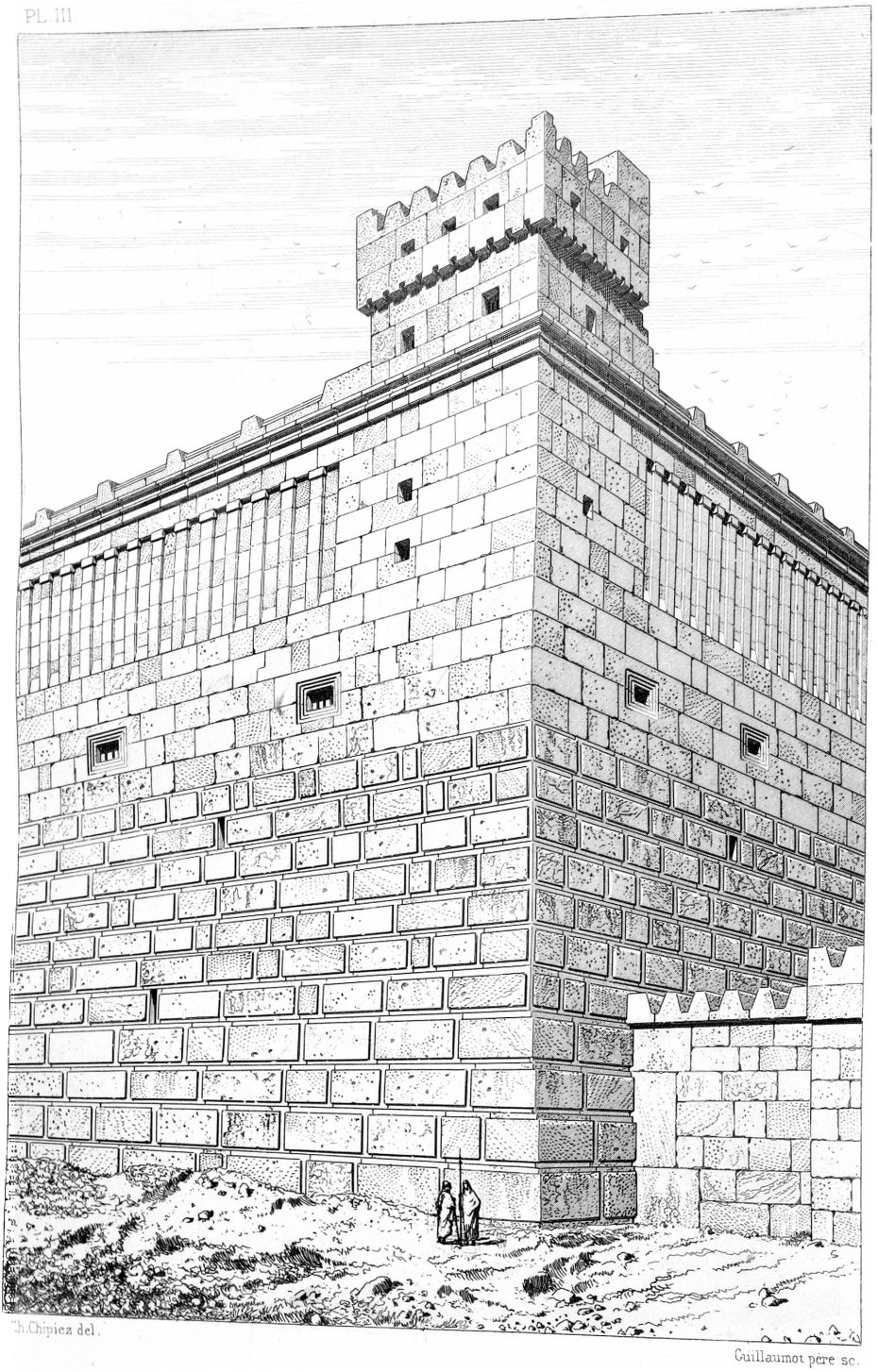


FIG. 140.—Longitudinal section of Court of Israel, from outer wall. Restored by Ch. Chipiez.



Ch.Chipiez del.

Guillaumot père sc.

WALL OF PLATFORM
NORTH EAST ANGLE OF SANCTUARY
RESTORED BY CH.CHIPIEZ

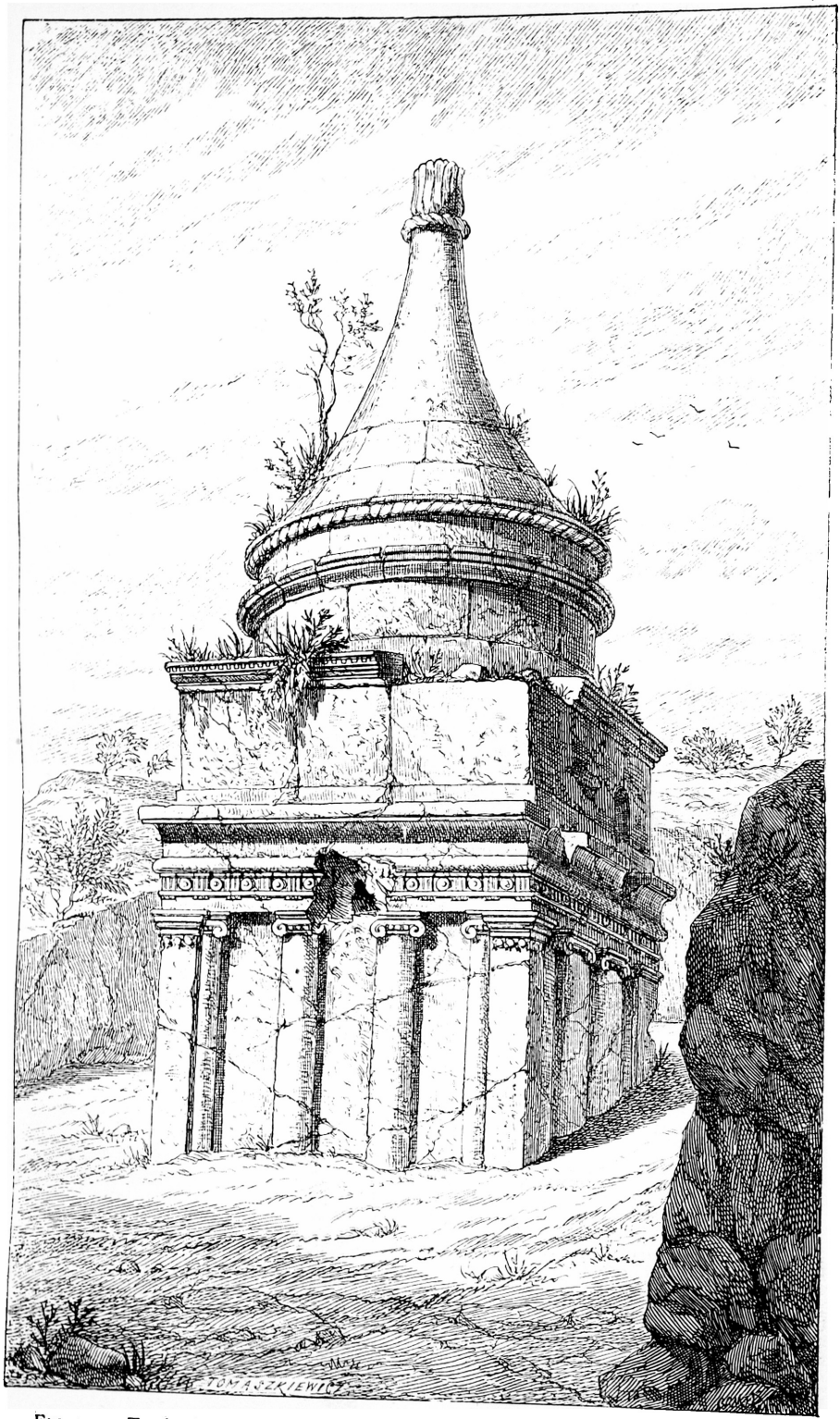


FIG. 141.—Tomb of Absalom. General View. DE SAULCY, *Voyage autour de la mer Morte. Atlas*, Plate XXVII.

external enclosure, whilst in front they look upon the pavement and towards the gate. Finally, to each of the towers or kitchens at the four corners, we have given a corresponding square.[1] The roofs of all the houses and porches are necessarily terraced or flat. It is a mode of covering that from time immemorial has obtained in Syria. We read, moreover, that the Jews in the last siege fought from the top of the porticoes.

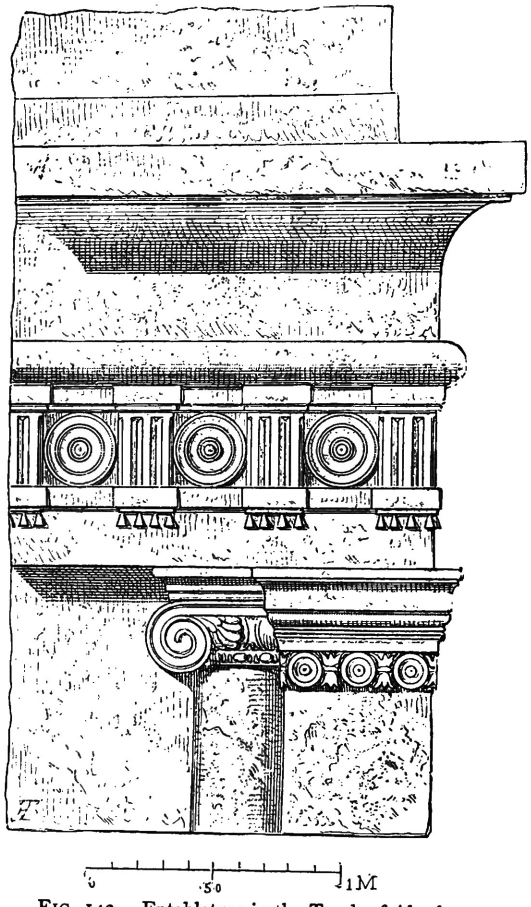


FIG. 142.—Entablature in the Tomb of Absalom. DE SAULCY, *Voyage. Atlas*, Plate XXXVIII.

We shall adopt this gateway as a general type. It is distinguished by a single bay flanked by pillars, with a plain architrave surmounted by an Egyptian cavetto; a device borrowed from the valley of the Nile, by those universal adapters, the Phœnicians. We meet with it also in the tombs of Absalom and Zachariah, near Jerusalem (Figs. 141, 142). The former is partly rock-hewn, partly built with massive stones. The main entrance, with bay and inner vestibule, widely projecting on the roof of the porch in which it is framed, will be seen on the second plan (Plate IV.). Beyond it are the niches and the passage, the latter being analogous to that which in Assyria traverses the massive block of masonry in the gateways from side to side.[2]

But we have supposed it uncovered to let in the light upon the outer and inner vestibules. Here we must give at some length our reasons for having invested these pylons with features that are

[1] *Ezek.* xlvi. 21–24.

[2] *Hist. of Art*, tom. ii. pp. 480–482, Fig. 214.

seen neither about Egyptian nor yet Assyrian arches.[1] The striking characteristic of our pylon are the twin pillars with height double their diameter. We have said in another place that their presence at the entrance of the Assyrian temple, contributed not a little to invest it with a stamp of originality; and that like the

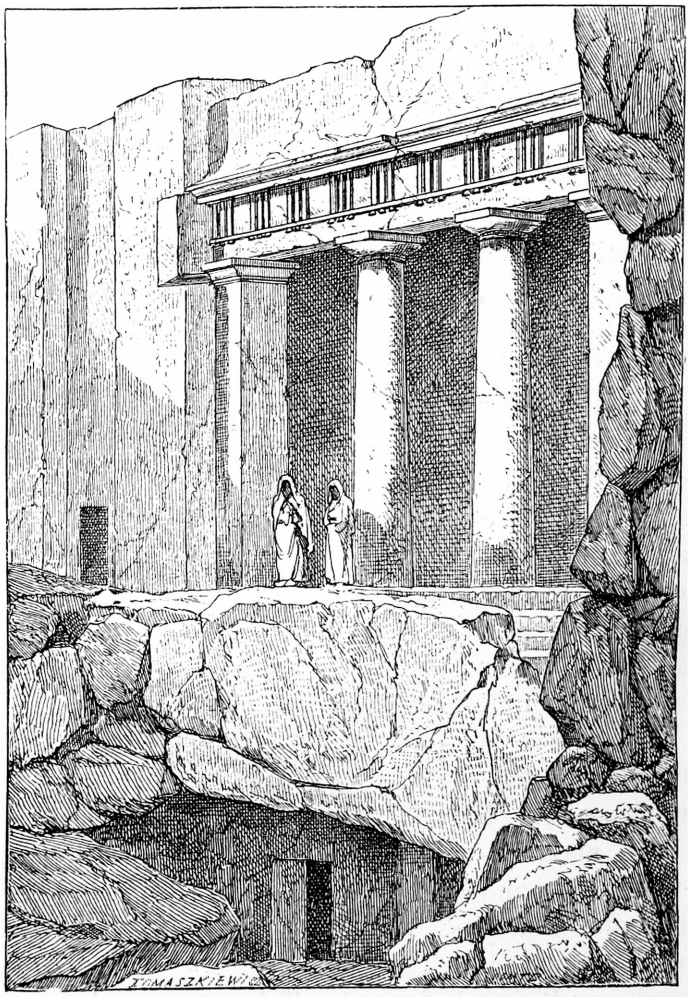


FIG. 143.—Jewish Tomb after Cassas, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie* (in-folio, 1799, tom. iii. Plate XXXVI.

Egyptian obelisk, they were placed there for no constructive need and could be displaced at will without injuring the edifice.[2] In countries where stone and marble were scarce, similar columns, as at Tyre and Gades, were in metal, coloured glass, or some other

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. ii. pp. 344–348, Fig. 207. [2] *Ibid.*, tom. iii. pp. 119–121.

precious metal. Some might be of insignificant height, whilst others were exceedingly tall. Lucian writes that those before the temple of Atergatis, at Hierapolis, exceeded fifty-five metres in height, tapering towards the top.[1] Their position, height, and aspect are well defined in a Roman medal figuring the temple of the Asiatic Venus at Paphos.[2]

Knowing that the temple of Solomon was built by Phœnicians,

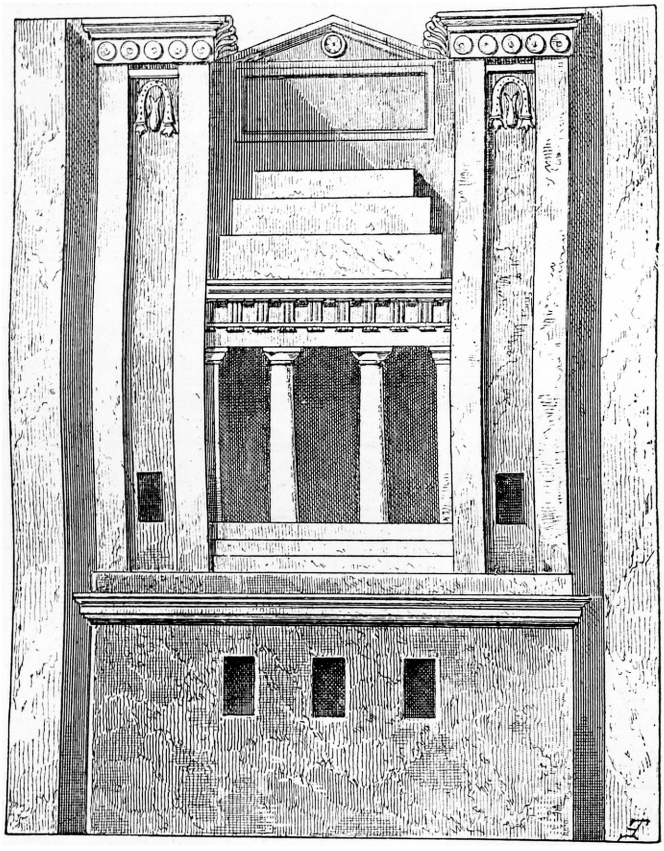


FIG. 144.—Jewish Tomb. Restored by Cassas. *Voyage*, tom. iii. Plate XXXIV.

we felt justified in using the whole system of their architecture and ornament, the more so that their forms and style prevailed throughout Central Syria to nearly the end of the old era; well exemplified in the tomb of St. James, where, side by side with details of an older tradition, are mouldings that betray Greek influence. Fig. 143 shows this interesting monument with its

[1] LUCIAN, *The Syrian Goddess*, § 29. [2] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 58, 202.

Greek porch framed by sturdy pilasters at the sides, opening into a memorial chamber.

Our next illustration is reproduced from Cassas, a Frenchman who visited Syria during the last century, an archæologist who drew with the true instinct of an artist, and although he wrote before the great Assyrian, Egyptian, and Phœnician discoveries, his information is valuable and reliable so far as was then known, and he does not deserve the neglect that has fallen upon him.

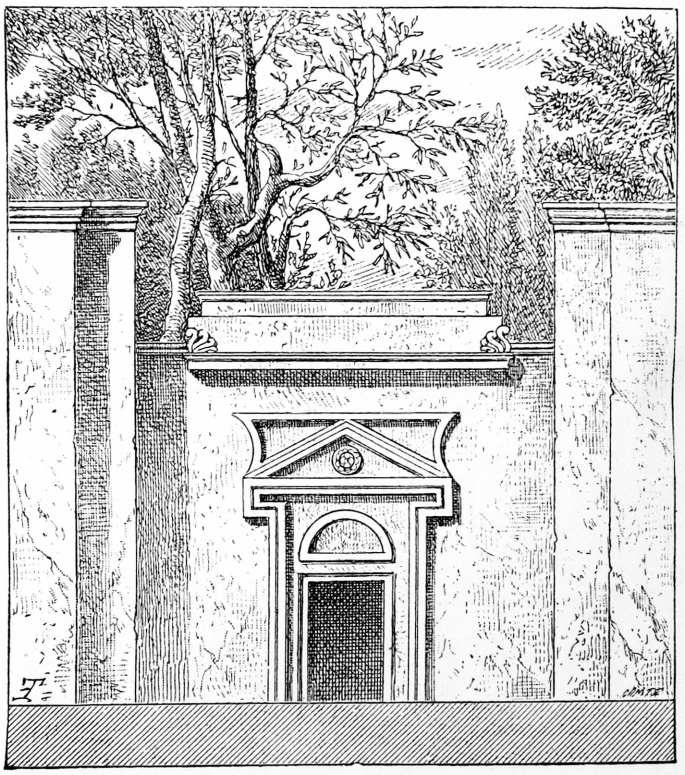


FIG. 145.—Jewish Tomb. Restored by Cassas. *Voyage*, tom. iii. Plate XXXVIII.

His restoration was from the remains of sturdy buttresses, notably on the left, and except the crowning ornament, it cannot be far from reality. To the Greek motif of the porch, are united typical, tall pilasters at either side, a feature utterly unknown in Greek monuments, whilst the composition of the façade resembles in a striking manner that of the Paphian temple and hypogees around Jerusalem (Fig. 145).[1] The character of the pilasters is modified

[1] This tomb, situated to the north-west of Jerusalem, is nearly in the same condition as when Cassas saw it towards the end of the last century. The capitals of the pilasters may then have been *in situ*. It is described by PIEROTTI in *Jerusalem Explored*.

and not so vigorous as in the sepulchral chamber of St. James, inclining rather to a Greek style, but the principle is the same. To reverse the order and to agree with De Saulcy that the Greeks obtained the triglyph from these specimens of indifferent Jewish art—to make these centuries older than they are in reality, would only lead to confusion.

Our restoration of the pylons is therefore justified by the two-fold testimony of written and stone documents. If the attempts made hitherto to restore the odd pillars of the temple have proved abortive, this has been due to a misapprehension of the text, in assigning the two cubits to the outer face, having had no presentment that it referred to their salience in plan on the façade. Not unnaturally was it asked, how pilasters 30 m. in height by one in diameter could stand at all or any time. Omitting the question of solidity as foreign to the thesis we wish to prove, a glance at the following diagram (Fig. 146) will sufficiently show that a similar construction would violate the canons of good taste, and be a positive eyesore.[1]

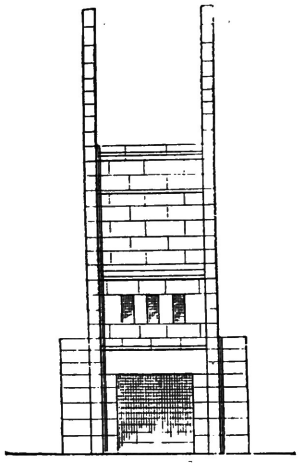


FIG. 146.—Pylon after ordinary interpretation of Biblical Text.

As we understand it, Phœnician, like Egyptian pylons, must have possessed chambers and steps leading to them. Unfortunately our plan is on too small a scale to allow of these being seen; but we show the windows on the sunken face of the pylon and at the sides (Plate IV.),[2] the palm ornament in low relief wreathing the doorway, the pomegranate around the upper portion of the pillar, including the capitals of the twin bronze columns, and of the sanctuary throughout. To facilitate free egress we have put two unpretending side doors, which connect the inner vestibule with the pavement in front of the portico. Within this are wood or metal columns ranged about the doorway, with a row

[1] The figure is reproduced from Father Lamy's elevation of the frontispiece of the temple. We have omitted, however, the twin buttresses, which he deemed necessary to support the pillars.

[2] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 486, 487. As David watched for the turn the conflict against Absalom would take, he stood "between the two doorways," and on hearing of the death of his son, "he went up into the chamber over the gate-way" (*Sam.* xviii. 24, 33).

of stone pillars in front. As neither form nor proportions are specified in the text, we were free to take the superimposed volutes of our capitals from Cyprus, and the rosettes and palms of our architraves and pilasters from Phœnicia. In one of the rooms under Wilson's Arch, pilasters were found, one in each corner, with superimposed volutes such as we have restored, whilst the walls exhibited stones similar in character to those of the oldest portions in the foundation wall.[1]

Buildings are ranged round the inner court (Fig. 148) or "upper pavement," supported by the basement wall referred to in Kings (Fig. 148).[2] "Solomon built the inner court with three rows of stones and one row of cedar beams." The latter combustible element has been thought to mean a balustrade over the three stone wall dividing the inner courses of the low from the outer enclosure. But we shall do no violence to the text by supposing that the row of beams specified were perpendicular to the direction of the wall, their extremities being fixed into circular grooves in the terrace wall, and the low stone barrier respectively (Fig. 149). The rafters were near one to the other, and sufficiently strong to carry a mosaic pavement or light flagging.

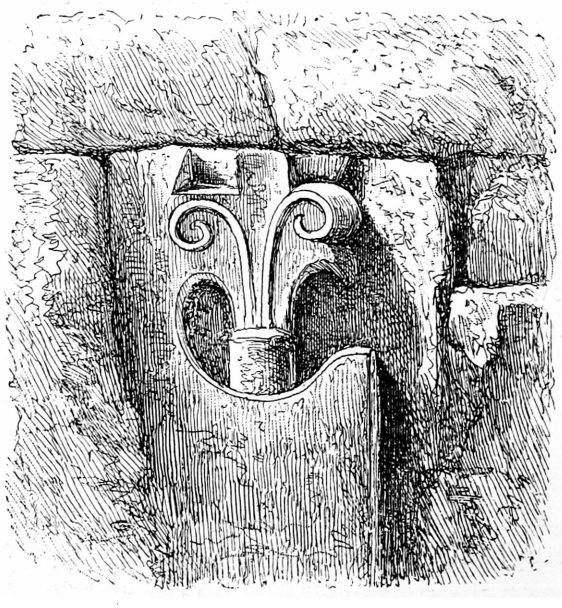
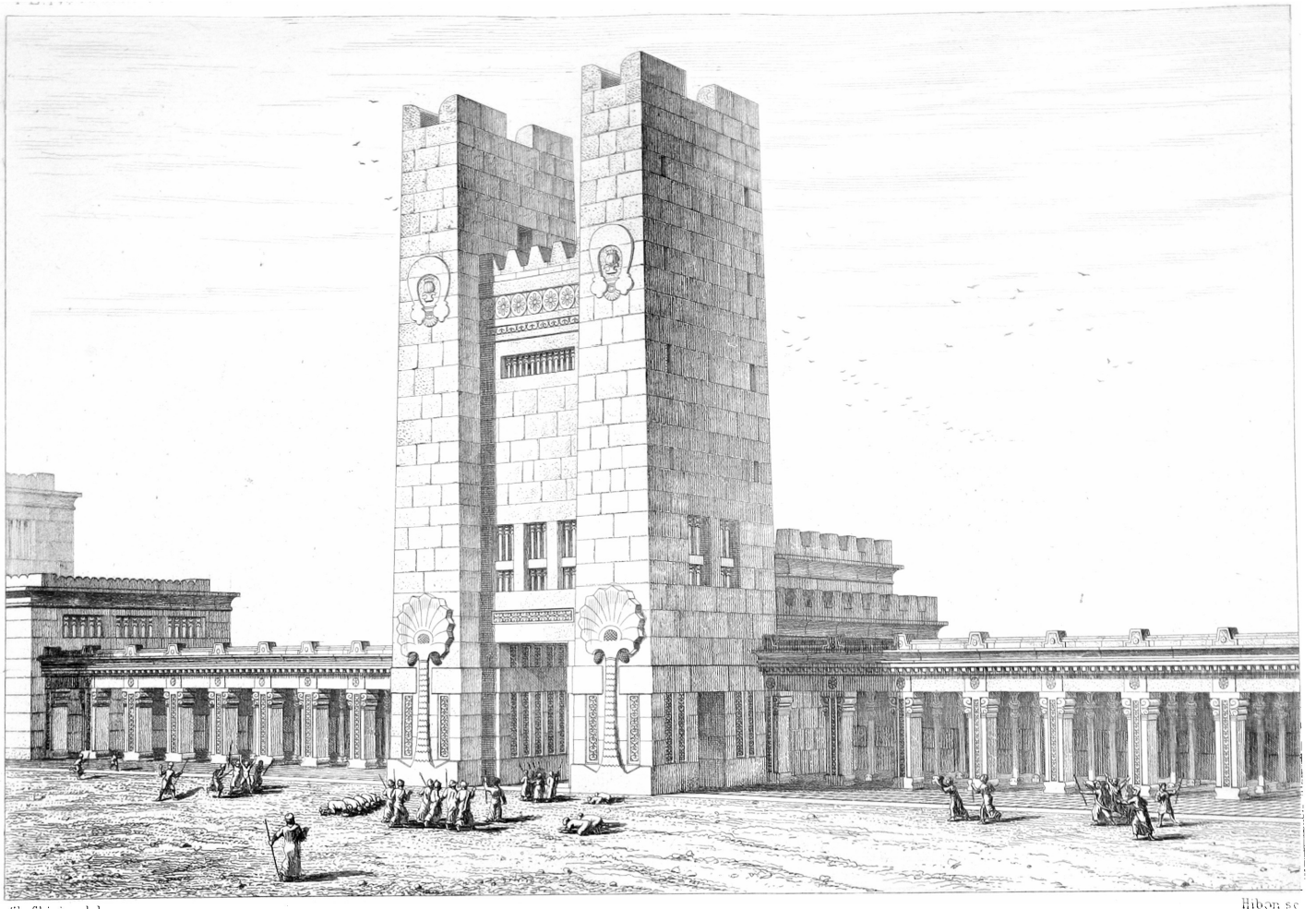


FIG. 147.—Capital of Pilaster, in subterraneous Chamber. *Recovery*, p. 89.

It should be noticed that the slaughter-houses were open to the sky, but in case of rain, shelter could be found in the portico, which was exactly the same as that of the outer court, save that it may have been more elaborately decorated.

[1] This is the masonry room of *The Recovery*, and is at least as old as Herod (*Recovery*, pp. 86–89).

[2] 1 *Kings* vi. 36; vii. 12.



Ch. Chipiez del.

Hibon sc.

COURT OF ISRAEL.

SOUTHERN GATEWAY FROM THE SOUTH WEST

RESTORED BY CH. CHIPIEZ

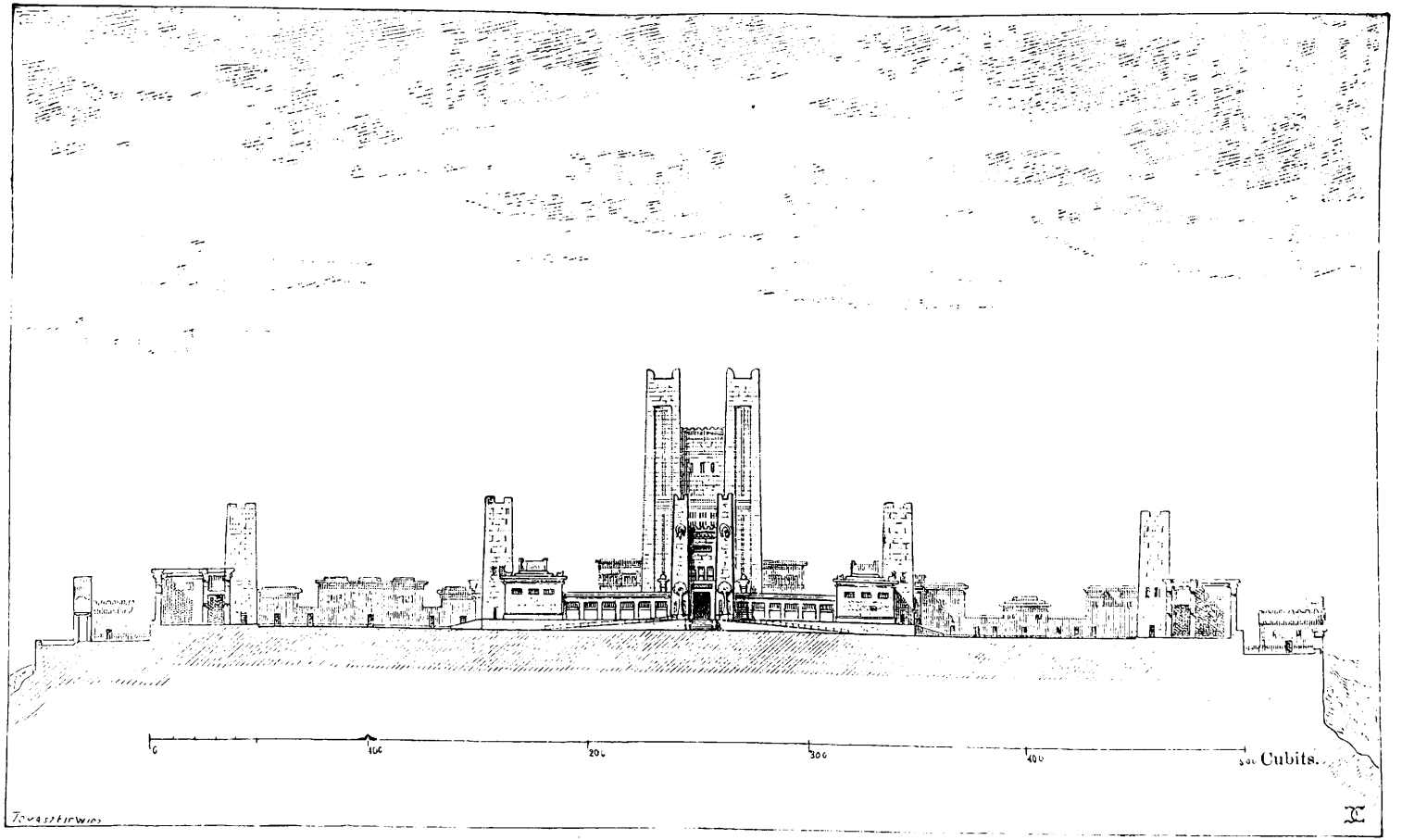


FIG. 148.—Transverse Section through Court of Israel. Restored by Ch. Chipiez.

Our aim is confined to giving a general, not a particular idea of the elevations; hence the restoration of the twin pillars, "Iakin and Bo'az," respecting which opinion is divided, will find no place here. Some hold that they were an integral part of the edifice, and supported the door lintel, over which was a wide projecting cornice forming a kind of penthouse;[1] whilst others, with whom we incline, maintain that they stood slightly in advance of the façade, and were not incorporated with it.[2] Examples of these odd pillars, standing in the position we have placed them, and with attributes that leave no doubt as to their import, might be multiplied, be it in Cyprus[3] or in Syria, notably in the stelas and diminutive archaic temples in metal and terra-cotta disinterred at Carthage (Fig. 150). To the same class belongs a terra-cotta in the Louvre collection, figuring a temple presumably, in honour of the Asiatic Venus.[4] At first sight the columns seem to support the penthouse in front of the doorway; closer examination, however, enables one to perceive that the mounting or capital is a floral device, out of which emerges a point not likely to have served as cushion; whilst a primitive plinth projecting beyond the wall, at either side of the doorway, indicates that the pillars were a little in advance of the fane. If the potter displaced them from their true position and put them close against the penthouse, it was to reduce the relief of his composition and guard against breakage, for similar monuments were dispatched all over

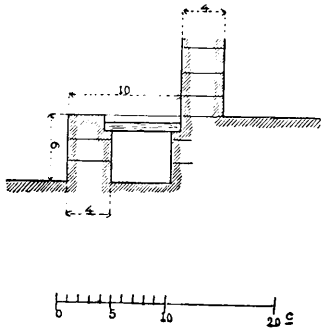


FIG. 149.—Wall surrounding Inner Court.

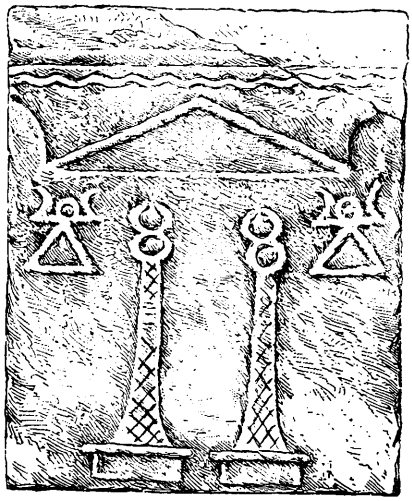


FIG. 150.—Carthaginian Stela. *Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum*, Pars i. p. 281.

[1] DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, Plate XIV.
[2] DE SAULCY, *Hist. de l'Art Judaique*, 1864. Plan du Temple de Solomon, K. L.
[3] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 119–122.
[4] *Ibid.*, tom. iii. Fig. 208.

the world wherever the cultus of the goddess obtained. But the people for whom the terra-cotta was fabricated would not have been deceived as to the real intention of the artist, and would forthwith have placed the pillars exactly where we have on their proper stylobate. Fresh light has been thrown on the subject from another part of the globe. In 1882, on the Labican way, near Rome, a fragmentary piece of "sepulchral glass," *vetro cimiteriano*, was unearthed. It is unique of its kind, and as the name implies, is generally found in old places of burial. The seven-branch candlestick, the palms and other emblems of Jewish art, make it evident that we have here a representation of the temple of Jerusalem, due to the Hebrew colony in Rome, which Sig. Rossi places in the last decades of the third century, or at latest in the beginning of the fourth A.D. We refer those of our readers who may wish to know more respecting this monument, to Sig. Rossi's learned dissertation. For the purpose of our thesis we are concerned with the odd pillars alone, which the artist, to distinguish them from the red painted columns of the façade, and those of the cloisters around the temple, left white, had invested with a deep brown russet colour to imitate bronze. Our drawing (Fig. 151) not being polychrome, the two dark colours, red and brown, cannot be differentiated; but the real position of the twin columns, awkwardly placed at different levels, one not resting upon its socket, but some inches above it, is not to be mistaken.[1]

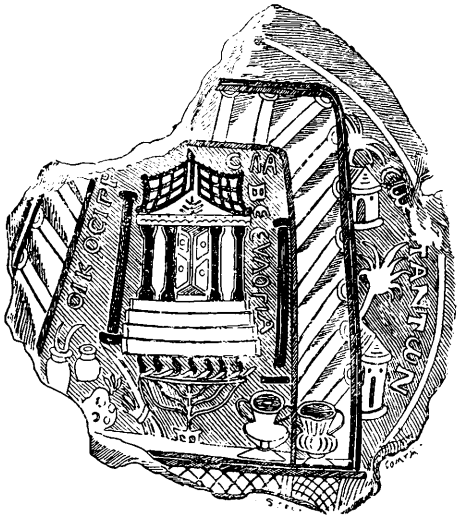


FIG. 151.—Bottom of Glass Bowl. *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, tom. ii. p. 439.

To return. In virtue of the principle that a pylon should project beyond the building to which it serves as façade, we have allowed 30 cubits as length of the pylons of the double gateways, and 60 for that of the temple, to render it proportional

[1] This interesting monument was fully described in the daily and weekly publications at the time of its discovery.—EDITOR.

with the larger building it decorates. The proportion which we have established in almost every limb of the sanctuary, between diameter and height, was one to two; and nothing shows that this rule was departed from in a far more important section, which from its size and place was calculated to produce the greatest effect. Hence we have been induced, or rather obliged, to make our pylon over the vestibule 120 cubits high, exactly coinciding with Chronicles and Josephus (2 *Chron.* iii. 4, and *Ant. Jud.*, VIII. iii. 2). We are fully aware that the testimony of the latter has been impugned as overstepping the regions of credibility, or as a blundering mistake of his translator, an opinion that at first was shared by us, but which examination of the text has caused us to reverse, as being proportioned to the other parts of the building. That this enormous pylon stood in the first or the second temple we do not maintain, although we are convinced that as an ideal it was ever present to the mind of the prophet, and if specified in Chronicles and Josephus, it was because it had lived in the memory of the people and of the priesthood.

Steps, or rather grades, preceded the landing which connected the court of the priests with the vestibule of the temple. But as they were too high for any ordinary man, a shallow notch was cut on the face of each grade to place the foot upon and facilitate the ascent. These indentations were invisible at a short distance, so that the monumental aspect of this gigantic pediment was not destroyed. A similar arrangement was frequent in the public buildings of Greece and Rome, notably in temples and theatres. Past the vestibule was or is, if preferred, the temple properly so called, roofed over with cedar wood and a layer of beaten earth. Two schemes are open to us: we may either suppose the scaffolding to have consisted of beams about eleven metres long, whose ends rested on the walls at each side, or of rafters slightly curved and half that length, which leant on a central master beam, corresponding with the axis of the naos, and of necessity of the same length. Such dimensions may seem abnormal to our ideas, but were not unusual to builders who could dispose of the forests of Lebanon, and trees many centuries old, in the pay too of a rich monarch.

Like Egyptian temples, the inner elevation of the sanctuary diminished from the entrance to the end. This difference, we believe, was not observable on the outside. On the authority, therefore of many interpreters, we have utilized this loss of height

by placing a chamber ten cubits high over the debir, so as to carry the line of the terraced roof throughout on the same level, thus (Plate V.)[1] preserving a stupendous length of line eminently satisfactory from an architectural standpoint. Nor is this all; we are the first who have remedied what at all times must have been a positive eyesore, namely, the discrepancy between a pylon 120 cubits in height and the mean edifice adjoining it, with plain perpendicular walls upon which no more thought or care had been bestowed than upon a garden enclosure. Then, too, we have retained the spur-like appearance of the wall which divides the cells one from the other, by setting it slightly in rear of the foreground, so that its extremities stand out as sturdy pillars, in agreeable contrast with the plain, sunken spaces interposing. This aspect is heightened by the high relief of the cornice and the embattled edge at the top, which secure strength of line and amplitude to the block of masonry. In order to show the whole extent of the latter, we have supposed the side building to be in an unfinished state (Plate V.).

The elevation of the upper story of the cells with the roof is twenty cubits, or ten cubits less than the wall of the sanctuary. In this upper story are placed the windows that are to light the hecal and the debir; but for this provision the latter would have no light save through the door (Fig. 134).

The outer wall of the haram is graduated to the height of the third story, but the space left by diminution in the thickness of the wall is taken up by the cells which increase one cubit at each story, measuring five cubits on the ground-floor and seven on the third. Our sketch (Fig. 152) will enable the reader to understand the relative position of wall and cells.[2] One end of the beams which support the ceilings or floors of these cells is fixed into the

[1] "Upper chambers" are alluded to in Chronicles, *loc. cit.* See also Reuss's restoration and note upon 1 *Kings* vi. 20. He has had the ludicrous idea, somewhat ante-dated, of placing a powerful electric battery in the chamber of the debir, to cause a "fire from heaven," in the midst of which God might be made to appear to the people.

[2] M. Chipiez' drawing coincides with Kings and Chronicles, for the discrepancy between the two disappears if we suppose—and no other solution is possible—that the author of Chronicles measured the cells from the base of the temple wall and the first spur of the side building. We know that this has a salience of one cubit, which added to the four cubits of the cells would give us the five cubits which we require.

pillar interposing between each cell, whilst the other rests upon the off-line of the wall. It will be seen that our plan is far more simple than that of the prophet, and as a natural consequence more easily read.

It is foreign to our purpose to enter into a description of the wealth displayed within the temple, be it in the wainscoting of precious woods, its cedar floor and roofing, the gold and silver lavished about the altar, or the wrought bronze of doors and barriers which made the "house of Lebanon" one of the wonders of the world.

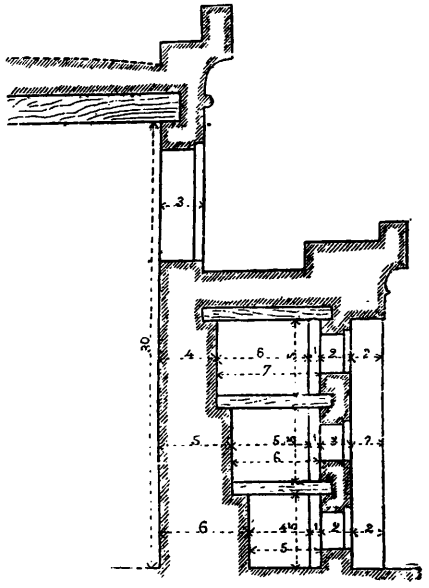


FIG. 152.—Temple and lateral Chambers. Transverse Section.

In regard to the parbar, our aim has been to make its elevation proportional with the presentment of its plan. An open porch divides it from the temple, and, like most religious edifices in the Nile Valley, its peristyle towers above the rest of the building (Figs. 134, 135, and Plate V.). Now, among the alien religions in vogue at the very gates of the sanctuary one there was of avowedly Egyptian origin, the ritual of which the prophet witnesses through a chink or hole in the wall, when he beholds "the seventy elders of Israel, censer in hand, standing before every kind of creeping things, abominable beasts, and all the idols portrayed upon the wall round about" (*Ezek.* viii.). It is evident that Ezekiel alludes to serpent, cat, hawk, and bull-headed deities. If, therefore, "numi" of so decided Egyptian a type were honoured on Moriah, what more natural than that the edifice sacred to them should be Egyptian in ordinance and general appearance?

The three-storied side building, which will be remembered as receding towards the top, has nothing to break the dreary aspect of its bare surface, save the windows at different levels. It is but a subsidiary structure, upon which elaborate ornamentation or great care would have been misplaced[1] (Plate V.). The door

[1] *Ezek.* xlii. 6.

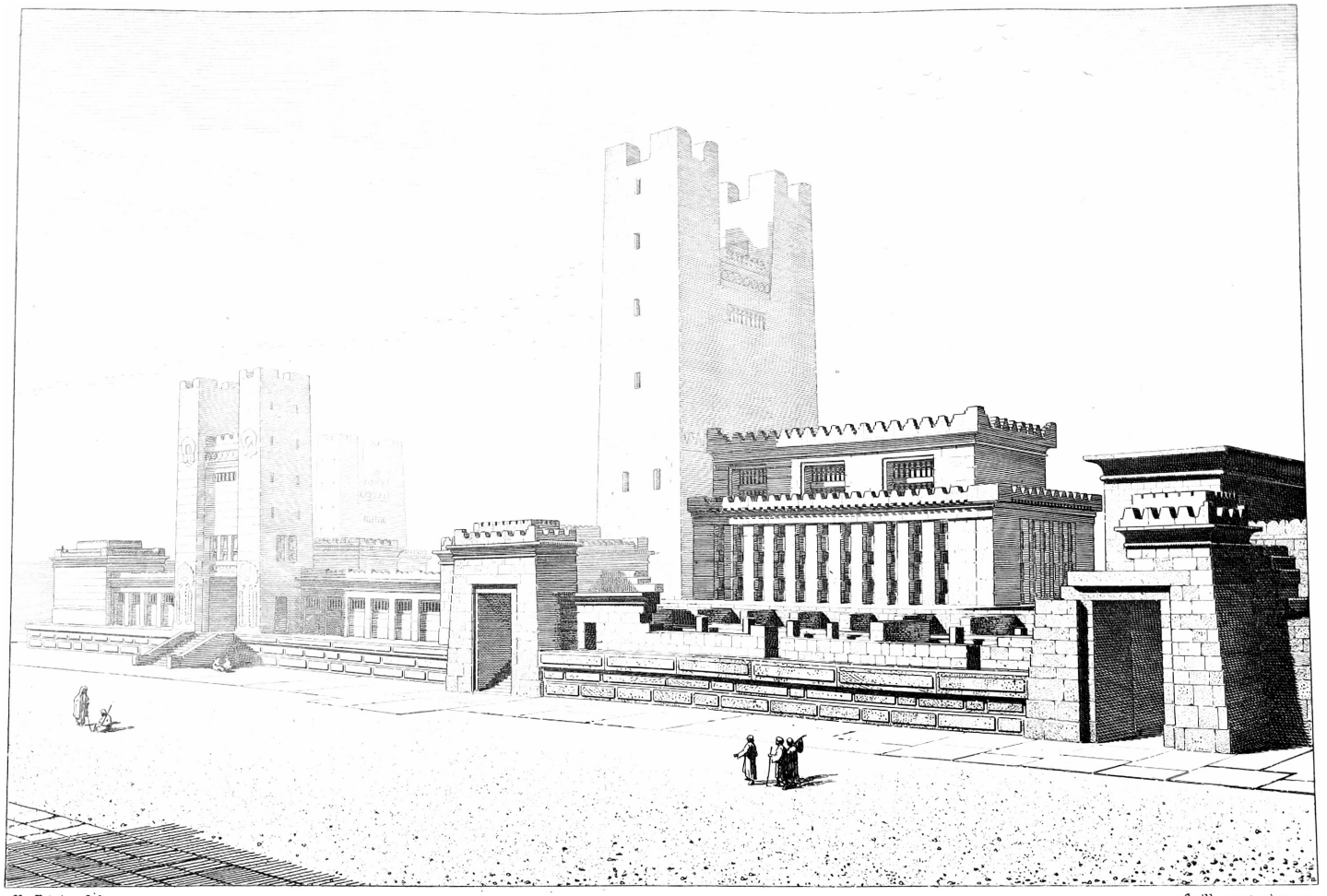
which leads into the passage running into the central walk dividing the chambers on either side is shown in Plate V., somewhat in front of the pylon of the temple. Behind the parbar, to the west, are a series of buildings, the possible use of which, under the kings of Judah, we have specified in another place. On the presumption that this block of masonry, secluded from all the rest, had a particular destination, we have assigned thereto an entrance of its own, with a chamber for a doorkeeper to watch the in and outflow of the multitude.

We entered the sanctuary by the Eastern Gate, and worked our way to the west portal; and tried during our passage to do for the reader what the prophet did for his countrymen. Unlike him, however, we could not expect to be understood by references of the barest kind. But verbal description would have been inadequate, had we not had the immense advantage of plates and diagrams to help our meaning in a way that explanations, however minute, could never have accomplished.

It is our firm conviction that the presentment in plan and elevation which we offer to the public is nearer to reality than any that have been essayed, not excepting those of late years. As for similar attempts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they were but the reflex of the time to which they belonged. During the former, Roman and Italian Renaissance style of architecture obtained; instanced in the restoration of Willapand;[1] whilst in the latter that of the late Renaissance reigned supreme.[2] It was reserved for a better informed judgment to perceive that not in Vetruvius, nor among his followers were to be found the elements and forms of a monument erected in distant Judæa two thousand years ago. The deciphering of Egyptian hieroglyphs in the first decades of this century, revealed a new world to Western scholars; when with pardonable enthusiasm the origin of everything in heaven and earth was ascribed to the land of the mysterious sphinx; just as it had been to Greece and Rome before. Assyrian tablets and Assyrian palaces, displaced Egypt from her elevated

[1] In *Ezechielchen Explanationes and Apparatus urbis ac Templi Hierosolomytani*, tom. ii. Rome, 1596–1608.

[2] PÈRE B. LAMI, *De Tabernaculo fœderis, de sancta Civit. Jerusalem et de Templo ejus.* Paris, 1720. Lightfoot (2 vols., Anvers, 1699) heads his work with an excellent plan. Hirt only restored the last temple, where he could with propriety introduce Doric and Ionic orders of architecture; whilst Dom Calmet's plan and view of the temple are on so reduced a scale as to render them valueless.



Ch Chipiez del. Guillaumot père sc

SIDE VIEW OF TEMPLE AND WALL OF PRIESTS' COURT
FROM THE NORTH WEST
RESTORED BY CH.CHIPIEZ

pedestal, and caused the stream of fashion to forsake the banks of the Nile for those of the Tigris. Now things are more evenly balanced, and each country is awarded her proper due. During the Egyptian mania, the restorations of Solomon and Ezekiel's temples, by Thenius, De Saulcy, and De Vogué, were on the models of Theban's temples.[1] Nor was their presentment without a large proportion of truth. Those who have followed us thus far cannot have failed to have noticed the special stress laid by us, upon the immense influence exercised by Egypt upon Phœnician art exhibited in the cavetto, the ordinance of the peristyle, the wide projection of the pylon, etc. But what we deny is that the temples, be it at Tyre, Byblos, Paphos, or Jerusalem, were servile copies of Theban or Memphian religious buildings. We believe that Phœnicia had a hieratic architecture, which was not wholly indebted to Egypt for its forms and subjects. Elements such as long gateways with vestibules, passages flanked by chambers, gates pierced in monumental blocks of unbaked bricks, were Assyrian rather than Egyptian. So was the castellated device, which we have introduced as crowning edge to our walls—a constructive detail well fitted to a brick architecture wherein it had its birth. On the other hand, it is rarely met with in the Nile Valley, save as embattlement to fortresses; whilst the Assyrian artist used it as crowning form in every class of buildings, whatever their purpose might be, as well as a simple ornament to sculptured and painted objects. As a purely decorative feature, it was adopted by the Phœnicians, who, wherever there was found an edge, bestowed it without much thought or care as to its congruity, as the tomb of Amrit bears witness, where it is applied to stone and repeated twice around the monument.[2]

The merit of the Phœnician architect consists in having modified elements which were originally fabricated in different materials, so as to bring them well within the capabilities of those which were at his disposal, suited moreover to the special genius and the needs of his countrymen. Thus the monolith needle patiently worked in Syene granite, is transformed in metal or stone pillars carefully wrought. It loses, no doubt, something of its characteristic boldness and peculiar beauty, whilst preserving its wonted place at

[1] *Das vorexilische Jerusalem und dessen Tempel.* Leipzig, 1849, Plate III. *Hist. de l'Art Judaique*, p. 194, and following. *Le Temple*, c. iii., Plate XIV.

[2] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. Fig. 95.

the threshold of the sacred edifice. The change it has undergone helps not a little to invest Punic monuments with a physiognomy distinct from every other in the range of ancient architecture.

If by a touch of the magic wand a man not wholly unacquainted with the architecture of the Nile were suddenly to awake on the beautiful steps headed by the temple we have restored, with its due accompaniment of majestic portals and tall colonnades, he would fancy himself still wandering amidst Theban or Memphian pylons. Ere long, however, he would detect elements that had not met his gaze before; and he would arrive at the conclusion that if the place was not in the delta, it could not be far removed from it, albeit a cunning hand had been at work here, which by subtle touches had modified their original character. We shall have attained our goal, and shall not regret the long hours spent in the company of the prophet amidst the precincts of the sanctuary, if those competent to decide upon the merits of our restoration, shall recognize in it a special building erected by Punic genius and adaptiveness, to a God who hated images and forbade statuary in his House.

§ 3. *Character of the Furniture and Ornament about the Temple.*

We specified some of the difficulties that we should have encountered had we been obliged in respect to the elevations to keep, on the one hand, to the meagre account of Ezekiel, and on the other, had we not confined ourselves to defining broad architectural masses, such as would be read at a short distance. Yet these, however great, would have been mere trifles as compared with the portentous task of restoring the interior and the whole of the furniture, with no other than the fitful, feeble light yielded by the text, wherein the extent, the nature and materials to be used in adorning and furnishing the sacred edifice are not even named.

Why this reticence on the part of the prophet? Did he judge —probably from his own feelings—that to protract a long minute nomenclature would but weary his readers, and turn them from listening patiently to his stringent religious precepts upon which he set greater store than about a few ornaments? Or was he satisfied with having traced the design of a monumental frame, which by the amplitude of its contour would yield commodious divisions wherein the celebration of public worship could con-

veniently be carried on, leaving accessories to take care of themselves, content that they should be as of yore? The altars, however, were too important a detail to be passed over in this summary manner; hence their dimensions and the place they are to occupy are clearly defined.

In order to complete the image that we have ventured to call forth, we shall have to turn to the Solomonian temple and pass in review the whole series of art-objects which the lavish hand of its founder had bestowed upon it.

The purpose for which the temple was raised must not be confounded with that of our modern churches or mosques. It was not a place where the faithful or devout met to unite in prayer. The priests alone entered the naos to attend to the various requirements of the place; but to penetrate into the holy of holies, where Jehovah was supposed to have his seat, was reserved for the high priest alone, who once a year passed into the "penetralia" where Solomon and Ezekiel had seen His presence in the semblance of a cloud, duly heralded by rolling thunder and lightning.[1] If this was small as compared with its monumental surroundings, it was compensated by wealth of ornamentation not to be found in the domestic dwellings of the priests, in the halls for initiation, for oracular utterance, and the thousand and one purposes of a great religious centre.

On the walls, floors, and ceilings of these, precious cedar nor the still more costly metals were displayed. A just balance was observed between apartments destined for noble as against those for baser uses; between the adytum and the porter's lodge. Great care and thought had been reserved for objects intimately connected with the service of the temple, such as altars, tables, candelabra, and vessels to hold perfume or water for ablutionary purposes. Scattered in and about the sanctuary, they were well calculated to attract the attention of the multitude, causing the name of the cunning artificer of so many exquisite art-objects to be passed from mouth to mouth, and thus to have travelled down to us. For it should be borne in mind that in the domain of industrial arts the Phœnicians, who at the outset had been mere imitators, soon rose to compete, albeit not to excel their models. In the nobler walk of architecture, however, they never attained to the brilliant perfection of Thebes or Nineveh, who infused life into

[1] 1 *Kings* viii. 10–12; *Ezek.* xliii. 1, 2.

their buildings by portraiture of gods and heroes, or of passing events, be it to record brilliant victories or the more pleasing arts of peace.

Here the efforts of the ornamentist must have been taxed to the utmost to save his composition from poverty of aspect; albeit in the time of David and Solomon a certain latitude had been allowed both in the inner precinct and in the holy of holies, whence from every convenient space looked out composite winged figures, resembling those common to Chaldæa and Egypt. Bulls, too, supported bronze vessels, on the faces of which lions were chiselled; Iahve, however, was distinguished from among the gods of the neighbouring nations by refusing to assume any defined figure. Conditions such as these were not favourable to the fostering of sculpture; hence only two statues of "kerūbs," but those of colossal size, ten cubits in height, occupied the debir.[1] As no ancient portraiture of kerūbs has been preserved, it were idle to attempt a restoration of them. Nevertheless, the numerous references thereto by Jewish writers enable us to depict their general outline and divine their origin. The kerūb is a fanciful creation with the body of a quadruped and the wings of a bird—a kind of divine steed, who carries Iahve or draws His chariot through space with the swiftness of lightning; it bears a strong resemblance to the man-headed bulls of Khorsabad, but is represented by Ezekiel as having a lion as well as a human face, one on each side: "thus was he sculptured throughout the temple."[2] That the prophet did not faithfully reproduce the figures with which he was intimately acquainted in the first temple, may be accepted as highly probable, for lower down the number of heads under discussion is carried to four, a bull and an eagle being added thereto.[3] Such conceptions testify to the prophet's lack of knowledge in plastic arts, which may be condoned in poetry, but which, sculptured, painted, or carved, would be intolerable. It may be safely concluded, therefore, that the kerūb in the first temple was single-headed, a mixture between the Assyrian bull and the Egyptian sphinx, heterogeneous figures fused into one, adopted nevertheless by popular fancy as types of divine attributes; images which the hand of time dwarfed into the proportions of cherubims,

[1] 1 *Kings* vi. 23–29; 2 *Chron.* iii. 10–13.
[2] *Ezek.* i. 14–22; *Psa.* xviii. 2.
[3] *Ut supra.*

be it in the paintings of mediæval or in the artistic productions of our own days.[1]

If all is conjectural in regard to the physiognomy of kerūbs, there is no uncertainty as to the part they played and the position they occupied in the adytum, where they formed a kind of dais, one wing being horizontally stretched towards the lateral wall, whilst the other overshadowed the ark, a felicitous arrangement resulting in charming effect, suggested no doubt by the winged figures of Isis or Nephtis seen on Egyptian sarcophagi. Here and there kerūbs, like scarabs, or the solar disc, are flanked by urœi ;[2] the right wing of one kerūb being inclined to the ground, whilst the other is raised heavenward. The order is of necessity reversed for the second kerūb (Fig. 153).[3] This we may assume was the disposition of the Hebrew kerūbs, whose necks were slightly bent so as to face the entrance and be easily distinguished by all.[4] Nor was their presence limited to the debir ; they reappeared embroidered on the curtain which divided the two halls of the temple, on the panels of the walls and the leaves of the doors, where the skill and inventive faculty of the artist had no doubt introduced variety in detail and arrangement. For here he was no longer bound by the restrictions imposed upon him, by having to model his figures in the round. Their treatment being almost flat, admitted of greater freedom in general outline and richer colouring. As in Assyria and Phœnicia, these figures faced each other, a palm intervening between them to ensure diversity of

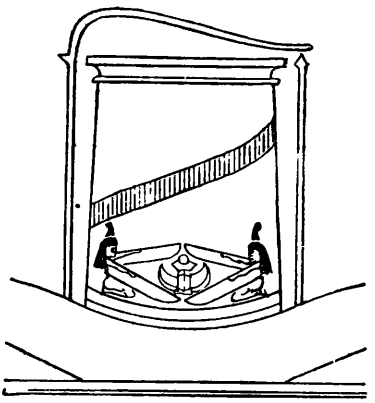


FIG. 153.—Egyptian Naos in sacred Boat. DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, p. 33.

[1] The etymology of the word *kerūb* is uncertain. Hebrew scholars generally derive it from the verbal root *kārāb*, "digging," "making a rut." In that case it may with equal propriety be applied to a bird dividing the air, or the slow bullock ploughing the ground; whilst others assign it an Arian origin from the Sanscrit *gribh*, Greek γρυπς, German *griefer*—"seize," "grapple"—which the Jews borrowed from Chaldæa during or even before the Captivity, where Iranian elements may have been introduced at a remote period.

[2] *Hist. of Art*, tom. i. p. 812, Figs. 542, 543.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 800, 801, Figs. 531, 532.

[4] 2 *Chron.* iii. 13 : "They stood on their feet looking inward," *i.e.* towards the naos.

aspect, contrary to those met with in Egyptian temples, which are always back to back.[1] It was a favourite device with the Eastern artist, who applied it indifferently on marble, stone, metal, and tissues. The Greeks adopted it from the earliest times, and through them it passed to the West. But in their hands, as with everything they touched, it acquired an elegance of outline, vigour, and finish such as had been unknown to the land of its birth. With palms and kerūbs were associated vegetables, flowers, and leafage, the latter wreathed or festooned about cornice and ceiling.[2] After the exile, forms derived from the vegetable kingdom were alone tolerated by Jewish puritanism. Did we require information on the subject, the countless coins dating from



FIG. 154.—Bronze Coin struck under Yaddous, tempore Alexander the Great. DE SAULCY, *Numismatique Juive*, Plate I. fig. 6.

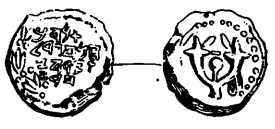


FIG. 155.—Bronze Coin of Jonathan, 142 before our era. DE SAULCY, *Numis. Juive*, Plate II. fig. 12.

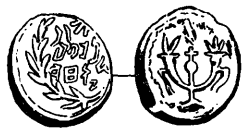


FIG. 156.—Bronze Coin of the Maccabees. DE SAULCY, *Numis. Juive*, Plate III. fig. 10.

the Maccabees downwards, as well as the tombs around Jerusalem, would be sufficient proof of this important fact.

We should be guilty of anachronism were we to introduce into the temple of Ezekiel, without modification, such subjects as are

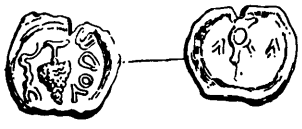


FIG. 157.—Bronze Coin of Herod Archelaüs. DE SAULCY, *Numis. Juive*, Plate VII. fig. 5.

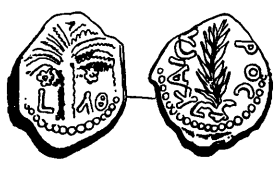


FIG. 158.—Bronze Coin of a Roman Procurator, tempore Augustus. DE SAULCY, *Numis. Juive*, Plate VIII. fig. 2.

viewed in Figs. 154–158, or the still more elaborate scrolls, cones, clustering acorns and grapes of Fig. 159 (now in the Louvre), which shows a considerable advance on its predecessors, instinct too with grace, elegance, and finish, not to be found in the earlier examples, but all belonging to the Greek and Roman period.

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. ii. pp. 747, 748.

[2] 1 *Kings* vi. 29.

Strictly conventional, therefore, should be the treatment of foliate and floral forms about the temple under notice; it should bear a strong family likeness to similar arrangements in Assyrian art, where we see patterns set out in simple combinations of full blown blossoms and buds or leaves of the same plant.[1]

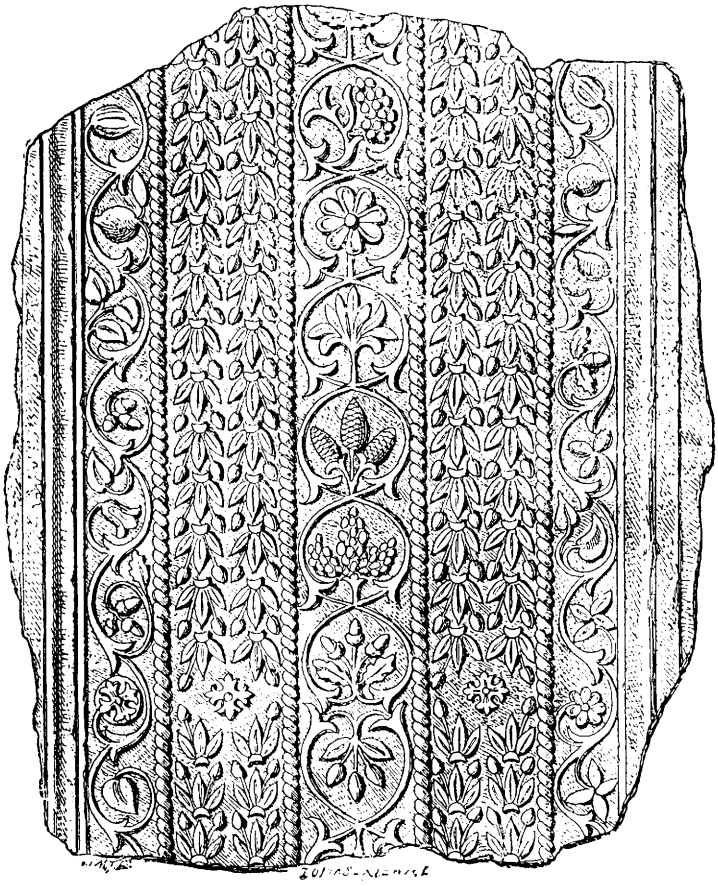


FIG. 159.—Fragment of Lid of Sarcophagus. Kbūr Molūk. DE SAULCY, *Voyage. Atlas*, Plate XXXII.

The wood carver and metal engraver, who decorated the house of Lebanon, drew their inspirations, like their Tyrian or Sidonian *confrères*, from traditional methods rather than nature. For the "Jewish style," as it is sometimes called, displayed on the coins, in the hypogees and tombs alluded to, was yet unborn. It arose from the fact that the native artist, being debarred by his tenets to portray animal and human forms, was compelled to study his

[1] Does not this arrangement belong to a comparatively late period?—EDITOR.

native flora, in order to bring into his composition the needful variety of aspect. Albeit at first the rendering was somewhat frigid, it was never disagreeable, because it bore a stamp of truth and a quaint charm of its own, which ere long developed into a realistic style suggesting budding nature and natural growth.

Gold leaf, as a means of enrichment, entered extensively into the decoration of the sanctuary, be it as outline to palms, floor patterns, or entirely to cover winged figures, the yellow metal standing out in brilliant contrast from the sombre hue of the wood on wall and floor.[1] As regards the latter, it is probable that the gold was in the form of listels or strips to hide the joints.[2] According to the same tradition, soft carpets of marvellous tints were strewn about the floor to protect it against the feet of priests and menials told off for the service of the temple. Tenuous chains of gold served to keep in place the veil of the sanctuary, whilst plates of the same shining metal were conspicuous about the altar of incense,[3] and when caught by the rays of the sun or a thousand lamps, would awake with sudden lustre, diffusing a warm glowing tone over the whole picture.[4]

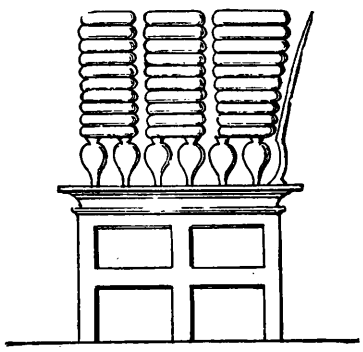


FIG. 160.—Egyptian Table of offerings. DE VOGUÉ, *Temple*, p. 33.

The furniture of the temple was in harmony with the rich Eastern style of its ornamentation.[5] Hence the table of shew-bread—wood or bronze—plated with gold, may be set down as having been of the early type with which Egypt has made us familiar, well seen in our Fig. 160, which is a reproduction of one uncovered at Tell-el-Amarna, exhibiting wine vessels and loaves piled upon it. The same piece of furniture, figured in the triumphal arch of Titus, at Rome, was a copy of that which stood in the last temple (Fig. 161). Comparison of the two exemplars

[1] Our version has "covered," "overlaid." Yet it seems impossible that precious woods should have been wholly hidden by gold. A similar procedure, far from enhancing, would have seriously marred the rich effect of the whole.—EDITOR.

[2] 1 *Kings* vi. 21, 22; 28–32. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* vii. 48; 2 *Chron.* iv. 8. The ten tables specified as standing in the sanctuary, five on the right and five on the left, are deemed an error of the compiler by Reuss. He thinks that behind the altar was a large table with ten smaller ranged on each side of it.

testifies to the profound modification which the hand of time or fashion had brought to bear on mensular forms. The trumpets about the table did the same office as our church bells. Opposite to the table was the "seven-branched candlestick of pure gold." The stem was made up of bosses and leaves alternating; the six branches were segments of circles, curving out at regular intervals with a bowl or boss under each pair of branches, coming to one height above and ranging in one line of lamps along with the centre light. The bowls were nut or almond-shaped, with foliated involucrum curling over the lower part of the fruit, the receptacle of the oil and wick. It was kept always lighted, and its peculiar

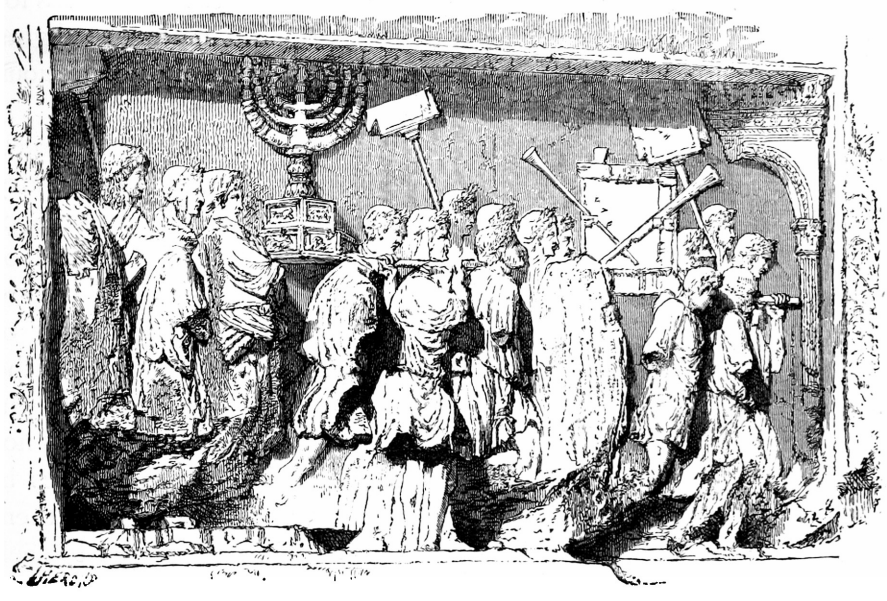


FIG. 161.— Bas-relief on Arc of Titus, Rome.

shape, rigorously preserved in the three temples, was likely to make a deep impression on the heathen nations of antiquity. We have reproduced it, on an enlarged scale, to enable the reader to see the winged animals sculptured on its base, as well as the ring of conventional petals on the lower part of the stem, spread out like an inverted lily or flower cup (Fig. 162).

The candlestick, although somewhat modified in shape, is met with on the walls of ancient synagogues; and it has been discovered in Jewish cemeteries of the Roman period in many parts of Italy. The lights were symbols of the Divine Presence, and seven was the "number of perfection;" such as the seven Spirits of God,

the seven eyes, the seven churches, etc. Ten reduced copies of the candlestick were ranged in sets on each side of the altar of incense. Besides these were the ark or reliquary to hold the "tables of the law," the pot of miraculous manna, and the rod of Aaron that blossomed; censers to burn incense during solemn acts of worship; tongs, snuffers, knives, extinguishers, trays, vases, all in fine gold; and other necessary utensils for trimming and making the lights and fires were of the precious metal.[1]

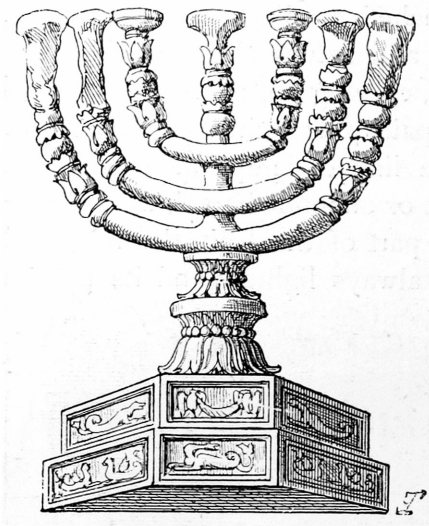


FIG. 162.—Candlestick on Arc of Titus. DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, p. 33.

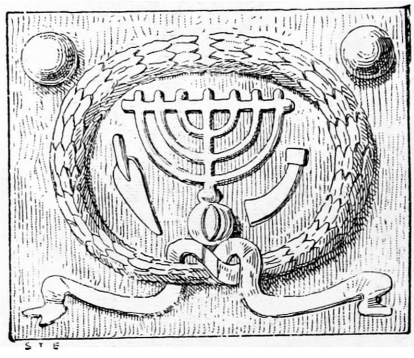


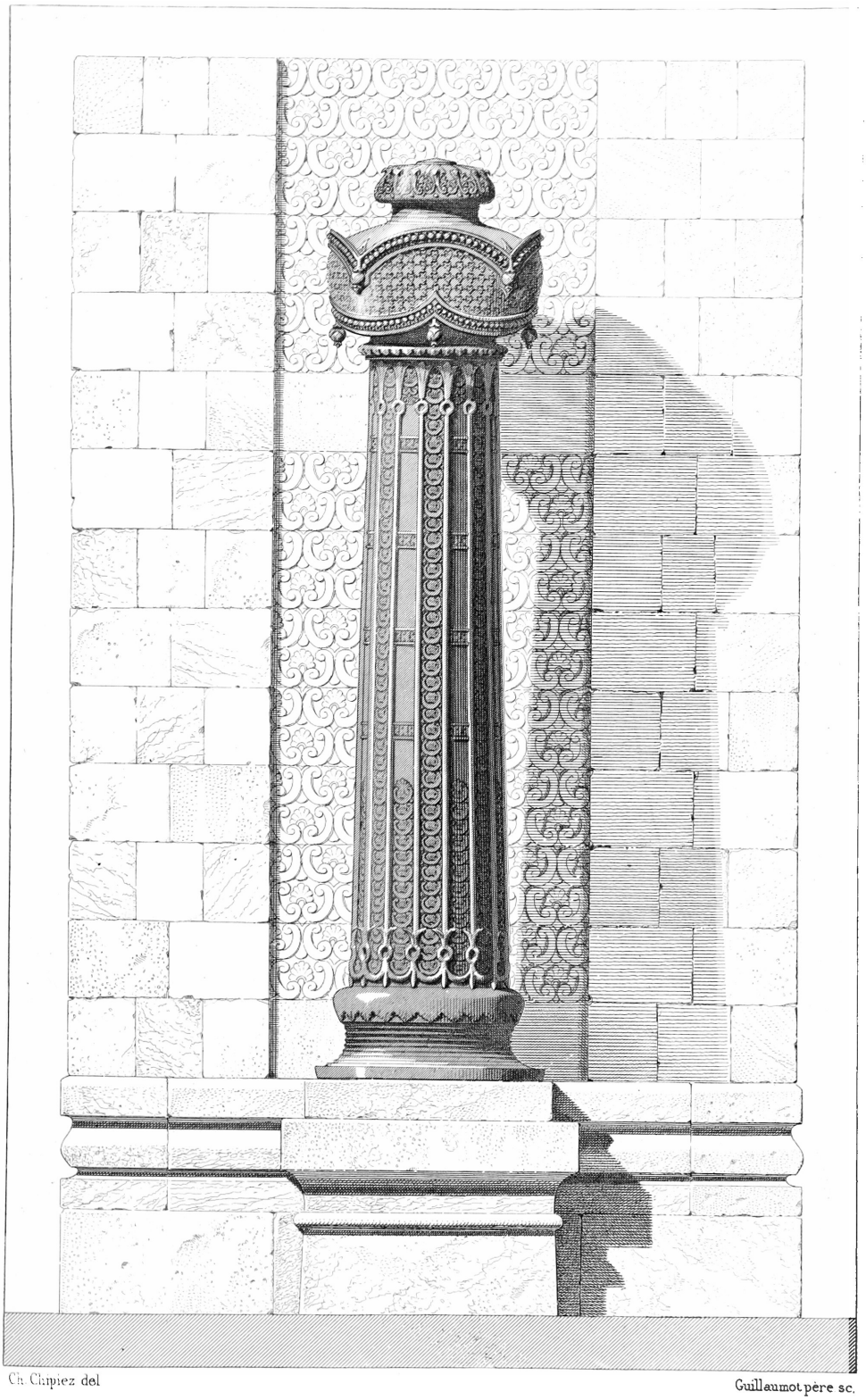
FIG. 163.—Candelabrum Tabarieh. DE SAULCY, *Voyage*. *Atlas*, Plate XLVI.

The main works attributed to Hiram Abu, whose foundry was somewhere "between Succoth and Zarthan, because of the sand found there,"[2] were distributed about the court of the priests. Here, too, was the altar of sacrifice, and the twin columns Iakin and Boaz,[3] not the least impressive figures in the precinct. To draw them M. Chipiez was obliged to seek in Egypt and Assyria the needful subjects in order to supplement the lacunæ of the biblical narrative; he was mindful at

[1] 1 *Kings* vii. 49, 50.

[2] 2 *Chron.* iv. 17.

[3] 1 *Kings* vii. 21. According to authorities of repute, Iakin would mean "he established," and Boaz, "in him is strength," the two words being probably inscribed on the pillars. It is difficult to believe that a formula with verb and prefix obtained at that early period, notably the verb, which is obscure. M. Renan, with a slight variant, reads as follows: "Iakūn, stet, Bo'az, in robore," *i.e.* "May the double column firmly stand," the two single words being identified by the illiterate as a talisman or proper name, by which they could be easily identified. However it may be, the denomination had taken such hold of popular parlance that the author of Kings never dreams of explaining it.



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BRONZE COLUMN OF TEMPLE
FROM BIBLICAL DESCRIPTIONS
RESTORED BY CH CHIPIEZ

the same time of the exigencies imposed upon him by the material in the selection of the form and the ornament to be applied.

Not to weary the reader with the somewhat prolix description of Iakin and Boaz, we refer him to 1 *Kings* viii., where it is stated that "the brass of the two columns, the sea, and the twelve bulls, which Solomon had put in the temple, could not be weighed.[1]

Finally, we read in Jeremiah that "the pillars were 18 cubits, compassed by a fillet of 12 cubits, the thickness thereof being four fingers, and hollow (*Jer.* lii. 21–23), surmounted by a capital five cubits high, with network and pomegranates round about, all of brass. The round pillar also, and the pomegranates, says the author of Kings, were like unto these; and there were 96 pomegranates on the face, and all the pomegranates round about were 100" (2 *Kings* xxv. 15, 17; 1 *Kings* vii. 15, 22, 45; 2 *Kings* xxv. 17; *Jer.* iii. 17–33; 2 *Chron.* iii. 15, 17).

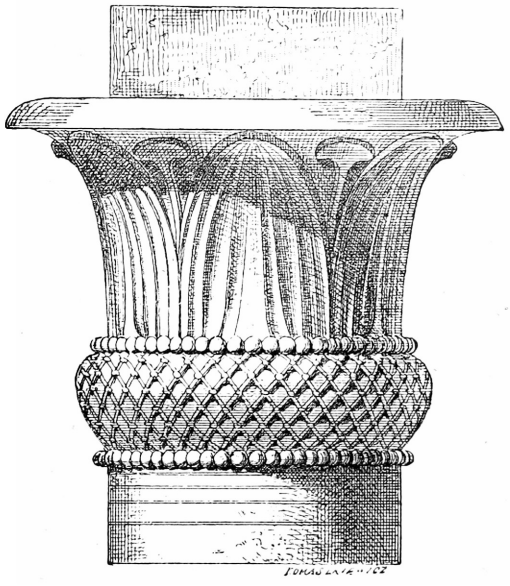


FIG. 164.—Capital of Bronze Column. DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple.*

The evidence yielded by the texts goes to prove that the pillars were circular in shape, 18 cubits high, with a capital of five cubits, and a bronze plating about three inches thick, making the tube's diameter three cubits, 9/11. The capital was in two unequal parts, of one and four cubits respectively; the latter might be subdivided into three cubits for the salient and one for the retreating section. The principal and more impressive mass of the capital is globe-shaped, spreading towards the top into a flower-cup, a lily, or, as some translate, a water-lily, whose broad petals are eminently appropriate to architectural ornament, their deep indentations

[1] It may be observed that the words placed between inverted commas or brackets (1 *Kings* viii.) seem to be marginal notes, which did not belong to the primitive MS. Moreover, as the parallel passages mention but two fillets in all, one for each column, the *s'b'h*, "seven," should be read, *sbkh*, "one." (Reuss's note).

yielding the requisite opportunity for under cutting. The peculiar outline of the capital and the network surrounding it are lovingly dwelt upon by Hebrew writers, as also its double ring of pomegranates, 96 in number, leaving four, doubtless larger than the rest, which were to occupy the points of junction on the faces or well accentuated divisions.[1]

We submit our Plates VI. and VII., the latter on an enlarged

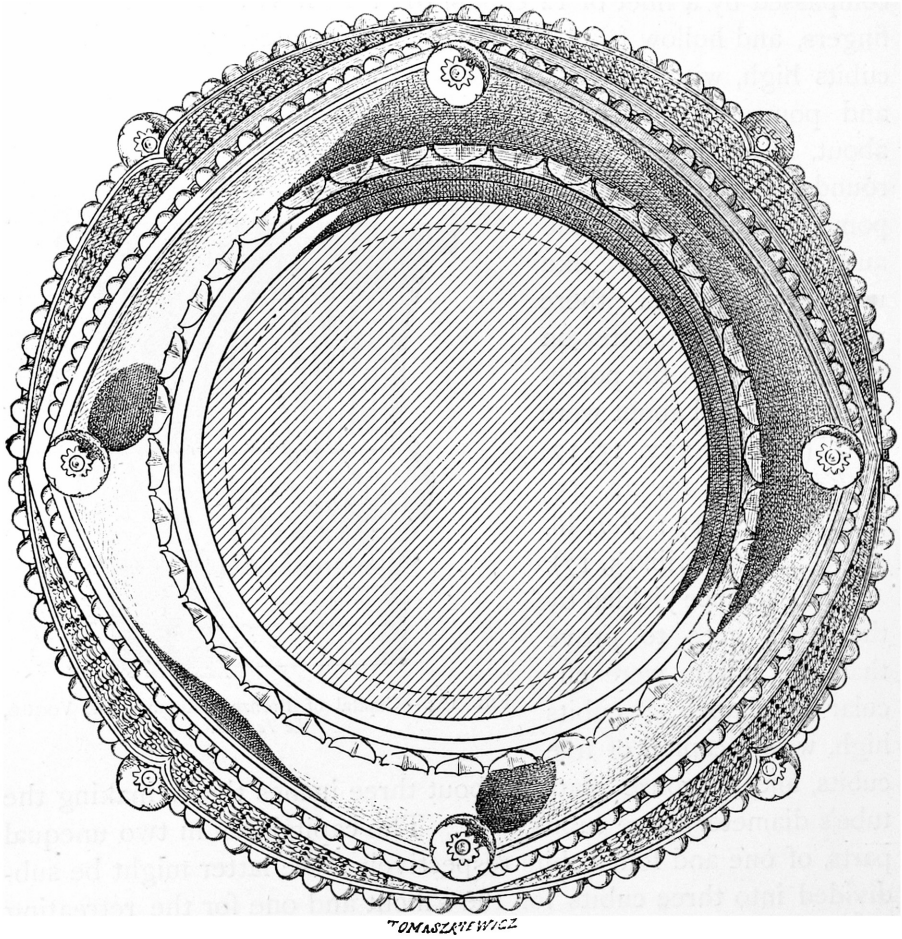


FIG. 165.—Projection of Capital at the Height of Astragal. Restored by Ch. Chipiez.

scale, to the sagacity of the reader, who will not fail to perceive that our restoration has the advantage of coinciding with the texts, and with Punic art-methods, whilst imbued with a stamp of originality and richness of aspect not met with among our predecessors.

[1] The descriptions in Kings respecting the capital may be summed up thus: "And upon the top of the pillars was lily-work" (1 *Kings* vii. 22).

De Vogué, without duly considering, perhaps, that Punic eclecticism, in matters pertaining to art-productions, never melted into, nor was ever confounded with Egyptian or Chaldæan art, introduced the basket-form capital of the Nile Valley into his restoration—an example which we have not followed—because we remembered that, whilst recalling Luxor and Babylon, Syrian work should preserve an individuality of its own.

So far our strictures have been of a general character; but these

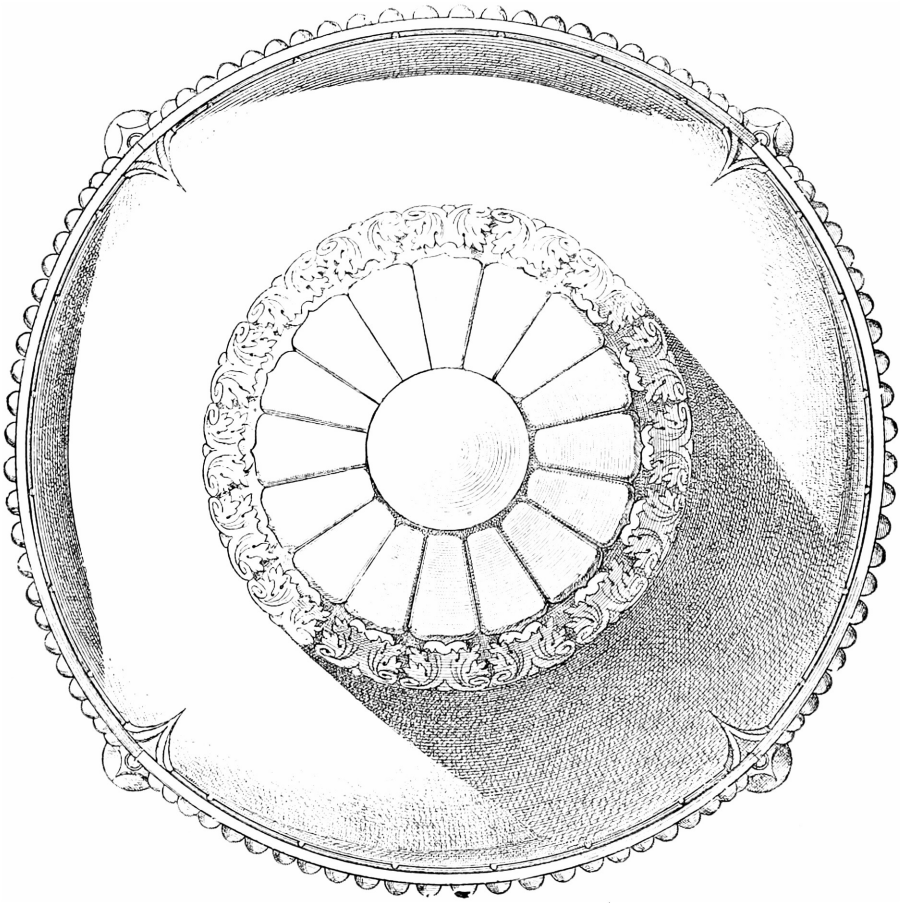


FIG. 166.—Upper Projection of Capital. Restored by Ch. Chipiez.

will not diminish, but rather increase, if we examine the capital in detail, for much good will is required to see in its floral device even a far-off resemblance to a water-lily or lily of any kind. The multipetallous corolla in both flowers is slit more or less; but of this there is no trace in the plain brim (?) of the floral form surmounting the basket, nor is there aught answering the sides or

faces formally specified in the text. It reduces, moreover, the "swelling member" interposing between the shaft and the capital, strictly so called, to the dimensions of a torus moulding, inadequate to display the striking network pattern, which, had it extended on so narrow a surface, would scarcely have been noticed with so much complacency by Jewish writers. It yet labours under another disadvantage: that no matter the amplitude allowed to the capital, its diameter, being little more than that of the shaft, would not yield sufficient room for the number of pomegranates indicated in the text.



FIG. 167.—Punic Stela. *Bibliothèque Nationale.*

On the other hand, if, to get them all in, their relative size is reduced, the general effect would amount to that of an ordinary Ionian beading. This, at something more than ten metres above ground, would result in blurred aspect; whereas the creation of M. Chipiez is free from all these drawbacks: it is a type which we met in Chaldæa and upon which we drew attention at the time.[1] The lines of the ornament about the capital are geometric and curvilinear in form, while the four-petallous flower, widely open, yields a broken line of far greater dimension than any other combination would have supplied.[2] Ample scope, too,

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. ii. pp. 217, 223, Fig. 74.

[2] STADE (*Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 332) has followed the text more closely than De Vogué, and given his capital the requisite spheroidal form; with pomegranates, not on an insignificant moulding, but on the "swelling member," the importance of which has been fully grasped by him. Nevertheless, his capital cannot be said to bear even a far-off resemblance to a lily of any kind, albeit not unlike an asparagus top, whilst the shaft is bare and poor in the extreme.

is given for enlarging the volume of the fruit and the network, which, despite their elevation, can be easily seen. Reference to the annexed Figs. 165 and 166, as well as Plates VI. and VII., will enable the reader to understand the economy of our scheme. Pomegranates as an ornament are of frequent occurrence on Punic stelas of Tanit, where the prominent position they occupy at the top of the single pillar seems to imply that the peculiarity of the fruit caused it to be considered as the emblem of life (Figs. 167 and 168). Then, too, with our method the divisions of height assigned to the capital are easy of apprehension: it measures five cubits, or four, excluding the secondary member, which we are at liberty to place above or under it. Adoption of the latter mode would reduce the size to a transition moulding interposed between the shaft and the capital. But, given the shape which we have adopted, such binding would be superfluous. On the other hand, it was far more important to secure a felicitous ending to the column; and this we claim to have done. In shape it is not unlike a flower bud, with a ring of conventional lotus leaves curling outwardly towards the upper end, thus deepening the shades and consequently the lights. Small beads, corresponding with those on the capital, intervene between the slits which occur at the beginning of each leaf and serve to accentuate the form.

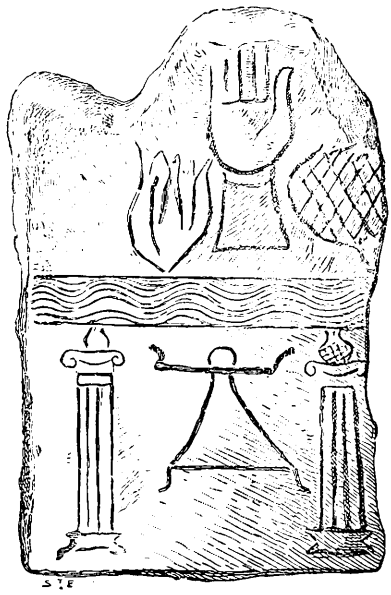


FIG. 168.—Punic Stela. *Bibliothèque Nationale.*

The shaft, although less complicated than the capital, was not without presenting difficulties of its own. These our predecessors settled to their own satisfaction, if to no one else's, when they confined themselves to giving one fragment only, which they conceived as being plain or smooth. But had they completed their restoration they would have been the first to perceive that to bring in juxtaposition so extensive a plain surface as the tall shaft, with the elaborate capital, was unsatisfactory, not to say incongruous. We read that the capitals were cast separately, from which it might

be inferred that the shaft, nine metres high, was produced at one jet. It is difficult, however, to believe that Hiram, skilful artificer though he was, would have subjected his work to so great a risk, when the same result was obtainable otherwise, for the parts could be nailed, pinned, or riveted together; their mode of attachment developed into a constructive ornamental feature, by bands or mouldings covering the joints and declaring the stages of construction. The well-known optical illusion produced by horizontal and flowing forms, as against perpendicular lines, obliged us to seek ornamental subjects over which the eye could travel from base to crown. Flutings are not met with, to our knowledge, in the whole range of Assyrian art; hence our adoption of slightly raised lines or stems, which serve to create and define the faces, with a band of conventional leaves and blossoms at the two extremities of the shaft. Graven forms or palms cover the whole surface of the pillar not occupied by vertical forms, up to the first joint,[1] whence they only fill every other face, whilst lotus leaves and flowers, akin to those of the bronzes recovered at Olympia (Fig. 169)[2] and of the Punic stelas, are introduced (Fig. 170). Then, too, the scheme of the ornament being flat or slightly raised, does not interfere with the capital, and allows, moreover, the plain

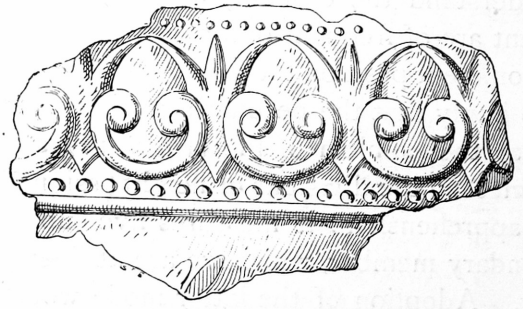


FIG. 169.—Bronze fragment found at Olympia.



FIG. 170.—Punic Stela. *Bibliothèque Nationale.*

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. p. 131, Figs. 73, 76, 81, etc.

[2] FURTWANGLER, *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, Fig. 9, p. 44 (1880).



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CAPITAL OF BRONZE COLUMN
FROM BIBLICAL DESCRIPTIONS
RESTORED BY CH CHIPIEZ

surface of the bronze to be seen. The base of our pillar resembles that of the Euphrates Valley, where it is always an important member of the column, having had as much thought bestowed upon it as the capital, of which it is sometimes the counterpart, differing in that from the Egyptian, which is often nothing more than a disc interposed between the ground and the shaft.[1]

This applies to the bases found at Persepolis as well as those of Punic stelas; the latter, though archaic in make, exhibit a profile analogous to that of our pillar (Fig. 171). With due regard to similar analogies, we have connected our base with the shaft by a tore moulding, over which falls a ring of conventional leaves, a design common to Assyria and Phœnicia,[2] followed by a reversed striated cavetto; which, resting on a listel or flat band, invests the column with a restful appearance of solidity. The "striæ" deserve particular attention, as having been seen on the pediment of a pier recovered at Samos, which has been classed among those monuments forming a link between Oriental and Greek methods.[3] The striæ of the Samian monument were doubtless suggested to the artist by similar lines formed in the clay, whilst still soft, with a sharp point, or even more likely by those made on bronze leaf. Their introduction, therefore, in Hiram's pillars was both fitting and legitimate; whilst the nature of the material admitted of the large pomegranates about the capital, being made to depend from tenuous chains. Albeit the whole scheme of the forms applied to the pillars might with equal propriety be associated with stone, they are more particularly suited to metal, and have been found, from the earliest age, among nationalities the most diverse and remote from each other, wherever the native ore supplied the material.

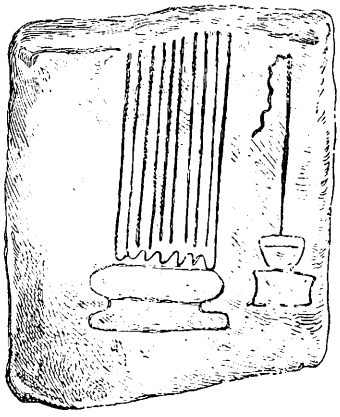


FIG. 171.—Punic Stela. *Bibliothèque Nationale.*

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. ii. Fig. 71.

[2] *Ibid.*, Figs. 129, 383, 386; tom. iii. Figs. 80, 81, 84, 630.

[3] CH. CHIPIEZ, *Hist. Critique de l'Origine et de la Formation des Ordres Grecs*, pp. 266–268.

Next in size and importance is the brazen sea, which we were able to restore entirely from the minute and graphic description of the text (Fig. 172).[1] It was of a type common to all semitic temples, and which we know from a similar piece found at Amathuntis;[2] but Hiram's vessel, in point of material and size, was vastly superior to the rock-hewn Cypriote monument. It measured five cubits in height by ten in width from brim to brim, and thirty in circumference; it was wrought towards the lip as a gigantic convolvulus widely open, edged with a row of coloquinta (dwarf gourds). A second row served to mark off the frieze from the body of the vessel. They were cast in one jet with the recipient; the bronze

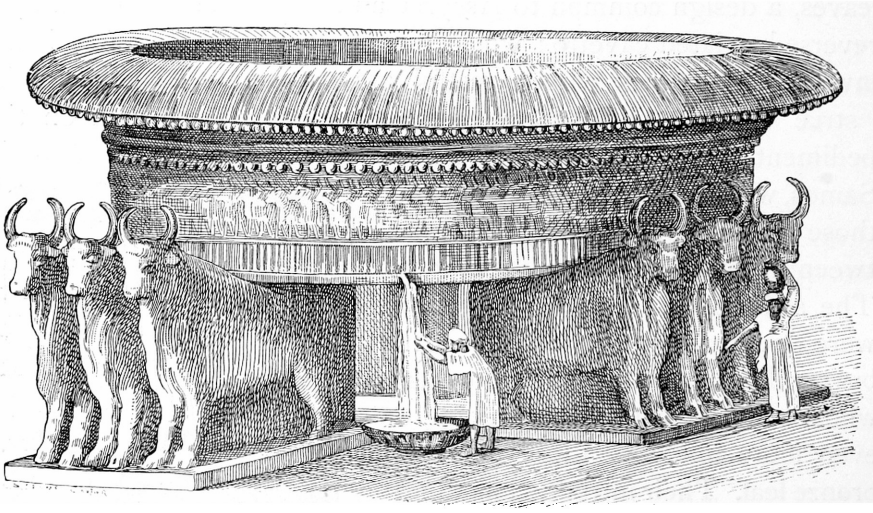


FIG. 172.—Brazen Sea. Restored by Mangeant.

plating being a palm or one-sixth of a cubit thick, like that of the columns. Twelve oxen of the same metal were grouped in sets of three at either side of the extremities facing the cardinal points, their rumps disappearing under the basin which they sustained, whilst their heads, instinct with life and vigour, looked abroad. To support a vessel five cubits high, capable of containing 400

[1] Our presentment of the brazen sea, the rollers or under frame, and the sacrificial altar (Figs. 172–174), were composed by the gifted Mangeant; who had undertaken the whole restoration of the temple of Solomon. Our ideas respecting it did not coincide with his; but these fragments of his interesting work strike us as so conformable to the spirit and the nature of the Punic style, that with the kind permission of his widow and of his son, himself a distinguished artist, we have reproduced them. Mangeant acted as architect to the Phœnician Mission, and had thus ample opportunity for acquiring a practical knowledge of Syrian art.

[2] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 280, 281, Fig. 211.

hectolitres of liquid or more, they must have been larger than nature, spirited, too, albeit conceived as simply as possible,[1] the bodies and the heads parallel one to the other. To have given the figures complex attitudes would have been in direct contradiction with the principle observable in all early stages of art-production; when general effect obtained in the mass is sought after rather than subtle arrangement.

Opinion is divided as to whether the shape of the vessel was semi-spherical, as the Cypriote vat, or cylindrical.[2] In the absence of absolute certainty, we have adopted the latter, because it imparts an appearance of solidity to the monument not obtainable with the former.[3] With regard to the means employed for daily replenishing the brazen sea—whether the water was carried in skins or buckets from the numerous cisterns that underlay the sacred area and kept the other parts of the building constantly supplied with the necessary element, or whether there were movable pipes which permitted the rain-water to be directed into the brazen sea—has not been ascertained.[4] However that may be, there were, doubtless, taps towards the lower part of the recipient, which allowed of water being obtained for the various uses of the service of the temple.[5] Some have supposed that under the rock supporting the altar was a perennial spring, which gave forth at all times an abundant supply of water; and that this was the fountain seen by the prophet in his vision.[6] Tacitus has been quoted in support of this hypothesis; but his words are just as applicable to the reservoirs of Solomon, which received their

[1] These figures must be understood as only approximately correct, for as Reuss remarks, a diameter of ten cubits yields a circumference of 31·40; and a circumference of thirty cubits is but 9·55 at the diameter.

Two thousand bats says the text (1 *Kings* vii. 25). A bat, according to some authorities, is assumed to be equivalent to twenty litres, and double that amount by others.

[2] We allude to DE STADE'S restoration, *Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 336.

[3] It is quite possible that under the recipient there was a block of masonry to give it central support, which the oxen hid almost entirely from view. These were cast on a core, and therefore hollow; but in their depths were stout metal supports, on which rested the whole weight of the apparatus.

[4] 2 *Chron.* iv. 6.

[5] STADE, *Geschichte*, tom. i. pp. 334, 335. He believes that the brazen sea may have been fed by pipes enclosed in masonry, which tapped the fountain and carried the water into the tap. But could water that rose several yards above the plateau have disappeared only to percolate at the very low level of the Kedron valley?

[6] *Ezek.* xlvii.

water through the high-level acqueduct extending as far as Bethlehem.[1]

Whatever may be the date of these structures, they certainly are very much older than the Roman Conquest.

On the other hand, the testimony of the historian rests on second-hand evidence; whilst we must understand the rill, jetting out from under the Golden Gate, as partaking of the supernatural character of the prophet's dream; and, as such, not to be taken literally. There is no allusion in any other Hebrew writer of the existence of a spring on the terminal plateau of Moriah; and the present haram has nought that resembles a fountain. Had there been one a few yards off, it is not likely that the enormous expenditure in labour and money, represented by the brazen sea, would have been incurred. Was it not because the serious lack of it was felt, that artificial appliances were resorted to at Jerusalem and Amathuntis, so as to supply the various needs of the temple?

Ten other bronze-plated vessels, six cubits high by four each way, capable of holding seven or eight hectolitres of liquid, were set on rollers, and carried water to every part of the terrace as required.

It is probable that they had been specially made in view of the sacrificial altar, which had to be thoroughly cleansed after each offering; and whose level they almost reached when they were drawn up along side of it, as in our woodcut (Fig. 173).

On the platform of the altar stands a priest, pole in hand to which is attached a bucket, he is about to dip into the vessel full of water; just drawn from the brazen sea, which is seen in the background. It may be imagined that, exposed to the variations of the atmosphere, the brazen wheels soon got rusty and unfit for active service; they were then ranged in sets on each side of the inner court, where their picturesque form and workmanship rendered them pleasant objects to look at.

The vessels consisted of two distinct parts—an under frame resting on two pairs of rollers or wheels, like those of a carriage, and a square box containing the recipient properly so-called, in the shape of a huge bucket or cauldron. In the uncertainty

[1] *Fons perennis aquæ* (*Hist.* v. 12), says Tacitus. The same words occur in chap. xxiii. of the pseudo Aristeas, who wrote towards the beginning of our era. The text will be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of Galland, tom. ii. pp. 721–804.

of the text, we incline for the latter, which as a consequence must be extended to the brazen sea. The relative depth of these vessels and the economy of their wheels cannot be surmised from the text, which is sufficiently vague to admit of readings widely different one from the other. The restoration we propose, better than any other, helps the reader to understand their ingenious arrangement; it has, moreover, the no slender merit of yielding convenient surfaces for the ornamentation specified by the chronographer. Not one among the many archæologists, who have tried

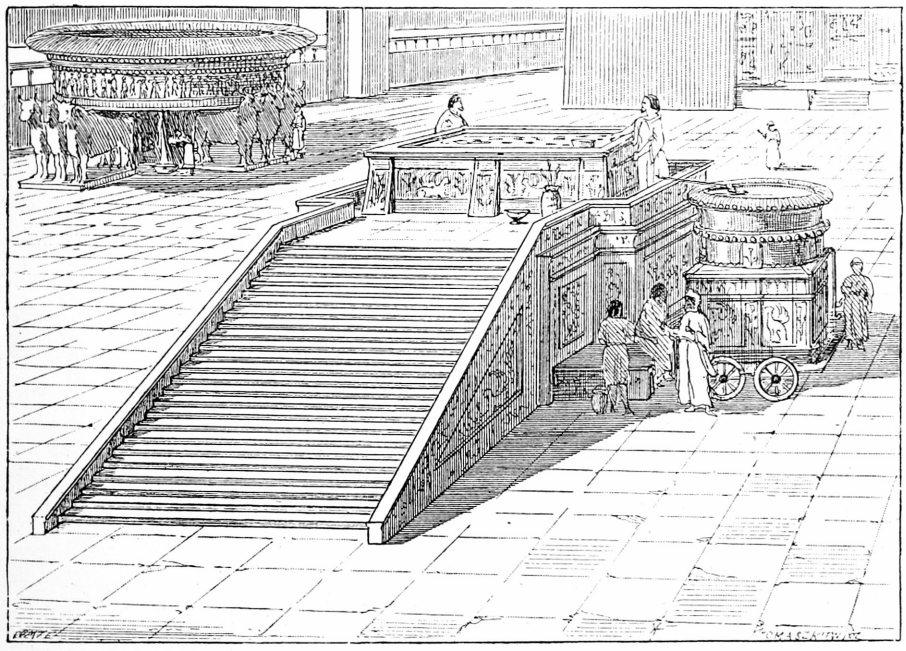


FIG. 173.—Sacrificial Altar. Mangeant.

their hand at restoring these objects, has given a thought as to the way the impetus was to be brought about in order to set the vessel in motion. All seem to suppose that the sakain, or water-carrier, pressed upon the uprights tightly fixed to the box. But this would have given him no control over the motion of the apparatus, which, when the recipient was full of liquid, must have been pretty heavy. The constant friction, moreover, would have worn the delicate ornament on the sides. To obviate so untoward a contingency, we have imagined sturdy poles of metal, attached to the lid of the rectangular box and the circular vessel by iron

bands and stout rivets. The shape of the poles is that of a cubit ("shoulder" is the literal meaning of the Hebrew word which has been translated by "cubit"). An intermediate space divides the vertical lower portion of these poles from the box, thus enabling the menial to impel or draw the apparatus at will; whilst it secures it against his own contact and the immediate



FIG. 174.—Movable Vessels. Mangeant.

danger of the chased panels of the box (Fig. 174) being defaced. We have been careful that the ornament should consist of forms met with in Oriental monuments and in the temple of Solomon; such as lions chasing bullocks—a subject dear to the Phœnician artist;[1] winged figures, and beads or coloquinta, corresponding with the "pendentives" of the text (?), including dentels carried round the necking of the vessel where it fits into the lid; whilst

[1] *History of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 555, 624, 639.

palms distributed at stated intervals between the beading and the dentels serve as divisions or panels. The only detail which we have added of our own are clustering papyri, disposed on the panels of the box between each kerūb; their straight, elegant lines forming an agreeable contrast with the flowing outline of the animal forms. We submit that our apparatus is endowed with a more satisfactory aspect than one exhibiting open work would have been; which, though calculated to lighten the weight and pressure put upon the rollers, would have sensibly diminished the available space for ornament; and that this could, at best, only have been poor, dry, and rigid.[1] On the other hand, the plating of the panels might be made so thin that increase of weight would scarcely be appreciable.

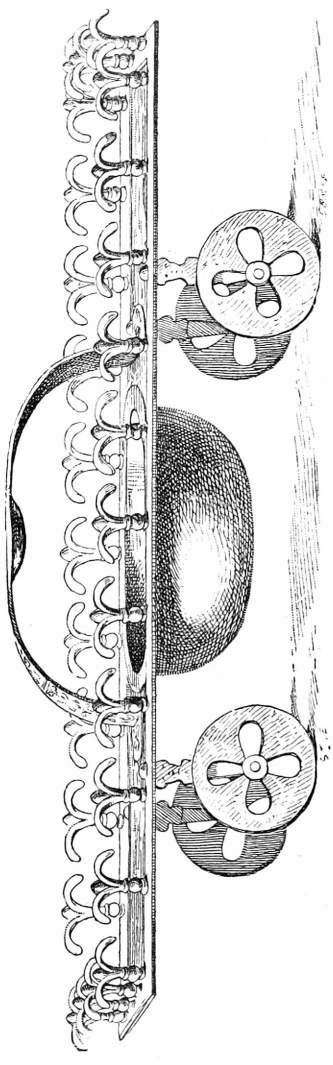


FIG. 175.—Incense Burner. Cære. Drawn by St.-Elme Gautier.

Small pieces of furniture have been recovered in all countries that traded with Phœnicia. The beauty of design and workmanship which distinguished many of these art-objects in the olden time caused them to be ascribed to a deity. Thus we read in Homer that Vulcain, the "divine artificer," was putting on the last touch to an exquisite tripod, designed for Olympus, when he is visited by Thetis. This particular piece was set on golden rollers, which, like submissive slaves, were to move at a sign from their creator;[2] and again of Helen's silver-gilt basket, which contained her distaff and soft wools of many hues, as being

[1] For reasons adduced in the text, Stade selected the latter arrangement in his restoration.

[2] *Iliad.* xviii. 375–378.

set on wheels, which the light hand of a slave caused to travel from one apartment to another, wherever the whim or fancy of the fair spinner directed;[1] whilst among the countless fragments of bronze unearthed at Altis and Olympia, were wheels which, owing to their diminutive size, can only have belonged to similar pieces of furniture.[2] Finally, at Cære, in Etruria, in the tomb called Regulini-Galeassi, from the name of the discoverers, have been found (Figs. 175, 176)[3] incense burners, moving lightly on wheels, the lotus and animal forms betraying Eastern influence; whilst Veii and Præneste have yielded monuments imbued with the same characteristics.[4] From all these examples, therefore, it may be deduced that the forms reproduced in the Solomonian temple were current in the workshops of Tyre and Sidon.

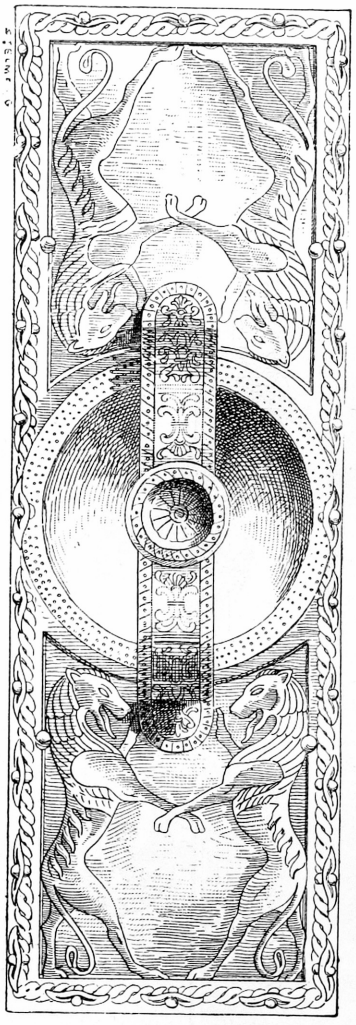


FIG. 176.—Incense Burner. Cære. Drawn by St.-Elme Gautier.

We have evidence that the centre of the court was occupied by the sacrificial altar—a block of masonry, bronze plated, measuring twenty cubits in width, thirty in length, and ten in height. It is specified in Chronicles among the objects wrought by Hiram (2 *Chron.* iv. 1), whilst, singularly enough, it is omitted in the first part of Kings (vii.), but mentioned later as the "brazen altar" in front of the temple.[5] It is not easy to explain

[1] *Iliad.*, iv. 131, 132.

[2] FURTWANGLER, *Die Bronzefunde*, etc., p. 40, 1880.

[3] GRIFI, *Monumenti di Cere antica*, Plate III. fig. 3; *Museo Gregoriano*, Plate XV. figs. 5 and 6. Our illustration was obtained from these two representations.

[4] See GARUCCI'S paper entitled "Sepulchral Remains at Veii and Præneste," *Archeologia Britannica*, tom. xli. pp. 197, 286, Plate IV. fig. 2, 1867.

[5] 1 *Kings* viii. 64.

the omission of so important an object, except on the supposition that the verses following the description of the twin pillars were left out by the scribe.[1] This might be ascribed to a slip of the copyist, were it not likewise suppressed in the recapitulation at the end of the chapter. The inference, therefore, becomes irresistible that the mutilation was intentional.[2] However we may try to explain the suppression, there is little reason to doubt that the altar of Solomon replaced that which David had erected on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite; and that this was the altar seen by the prophet in his dream (*Ezek.* xliii. 13–17). But the whole passage having reference to it is very obscure, partly owing to bad translation, partly from its having been tampered with. All we know is that it consisted of a wide base supporting a platform, in the centre of which was the hearth, an oblong structure, whereon the victim was consumed.[3] A broad flight of steps facing the east led to the top. Under the altar were ducts to drain off the used water into a cavity visible at the present day in the dome of the rock; whilst a hole at the bottom of the ditch or cavity allowed the water to flow out into the sewers, which ran straight into the Kedron valley.[4]

Olive, cypress, cedar and other precious woods, gold and silver, entered largely into the decoration of the house of Lebanon; to the exclusion, it would seem, of ivory, which is nowhere specified. This is all the more strange that we know how universal was its adoption, as a mode of enrichment, by all Eastern people from the earliest date. Colour, whether painted on capitals, walls, or mouldings, or as hangings and carpets as partial covering to the floor, was doubtless resorted to in order to impart greater brilliancy to the whole edifice. The latter are and have always been so general a feature in all Oriental interiors, that they called for no special mention on the part of the chronographer. He makes an

[1] The description should follow verse 22.

[2] According to Stade the alteration in the text arose from the wish of the compiler to spread the belief that the altar of the tabernacle (1 *Kings* viii. 4) had been brought to the temple by Solomon. Such a thesis is not reconcilable with Chronicles, where, owing to the bias of the author, we should find it stated had there been any foundation in fact.

[3] The text seems to imply that the altar, properly so called, consisted of two unequal parts, placed one upon the other; a complicated, clumsy contrivance, which we have discarded, whilst preserving the characteristic simplicity borne out by the text.

[4] So at least the *Mishna of Middoth*, iii. 2, 3; and the *Mishna of Ioma*, v. 6.

exception in favour of the veil of the sanctuary, wrought in purple, blue and red and scarlet, and fine linen, with winged figures, arabesques, and a lotus-flower border (2 *Chron.* iii. 14). We can imagine the curtain to have been one of those webs dyed with the costly purple tint, interwoven with gold, to which the deft fingers of Tyrian women added embroidery in various colours. The second temple had a veil of the same costly fabric, and of no less resplendent hues; perhaps a πέπλος Βαβυλῶνιος, the gift of Cyrus or some wealthy Jew of Babylon. By one of those freaks of fortune from which the gods themselves are not exempted, this curtain was carried to Olympia by Antiochus Epiphanes, and there may have adorned the temple of Olympus.

The reader has now before him our restoration of the temple and its more important pieces; the impression produced by their image, aided throughout by transliteration of the text, will have led him to agree with us, that the monument as a whole does not recall Assyria or Egypt, but points to Phœnician style and Phœnician methods.



CHAPTER V.

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS.

THE religious architecture of the Hebrews, is not represented by the temple alone. Before and after its advent there were other places of worship whose general characteristics it behoves us to define. Needless to say that these varied according to the age or degree of power of their creator; that in them the masterpieces of sculpture were not to be seen, but that such simple decoration as is common to all nations as soon as they emerge from utter savagery was doubtless resorted to in order to add to their beauty.

§ 1. *Sepulchral Architecture.*

The countless caves distributed all over Syria were the first dwellings or shelters of her rude inhabitants. Multitudinous instances might be adduced of grottoes—such as Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beyrout—in which flint implements, the bones of deer, the bear, bison, and Syrian tiger, have been discovered in a conglomerate, formed by slow infiltration of the rock and accumulated rubbish, sometimes more than a yard deep. But when man migrated to the tent and the house, the natural cavern became the resting-place of the dead. In time, however, its size was increased, and when this no longer sufficed, chambers were scooped out of the rock alongside it. Some care was exercised to make their shape regular, whilst a huge stone, removable at will, secured them against the incursions of roaming animals.

In all probability Abraham's cavern of Machpelah was a natural excavation.[1] But this must remain in doubt so long as it is in the

[1] The term Machpelah is rendered by "reduplication," from *kapal*, "double," "twice over;" hence the grotto may have been possessed of two chambers.

hands of the Moslems; were we able to visit the crypt within the mosque, the chances are that we should find the tomb of the patriarch almost in its pristine state.[1]

It is not unusual to find in the vicinity of these vaults immense boulders, piled up one on the top of the other, like some huge cairn, or artificial grotto. This is particularly observable in the land of Ammon, Moab, and in the district formerly occupied by Reuben.[2] Some few are not unlike the Sardinian examples,[3] and properly belong to the class known as "holed" dolmens.[4] The tomb consists of a huge slab laid flat to form the floor; on either side two raised stones similar to this support the roof or slab, with wide projection each way; the passage between the side stones being closed at both ends by a smaller stone. Not a few show a moulding or kind of frame on the face of the north block (where is generally the entrance), as if intended for a wooden door (Fig. 177).

Some believe that these sepulchral memorials were raised by the Anakim and Rephaim, who are supposed to have held the country before the invasion of the Semitic races.[5] An hypothesis which it is hard to reconcile with the fact, that here and there the stones bear distinct traces of the chisel. But even if we only admit those examples that show no marks of implements, we fail to see valid reasons for ascribing to a fabulous people these tombal stones, rather than the Israelites and the kindred tribes of the

Pierotti, one of the few Europeans who had a glimpse of it, alleges that there exist two vaults at different levels. See also F. VIGOUREUX, *La Bible et les Découvertes en Palestine et en Assyrie*, tom. i. pp. 507–518, 1884. Whatever may be the individual opinions of the reader, he cannot fail to be interested and to learn much in the company of the good abbé, whose sincere piety is so evident that it should disarm the criticism of those who do not share his views (Gen. xxiii.).

[1] During the occupation of the country by the Crusaders, the mosque was turned into a church. Unfortunately for the archæologist, the monks in charge of the crypt were too busy with their religious feuds to think of a description of one of the oldest monuments in Palestine. See RIANT, *Sur l'Invention de la Sépulture des Patriarches, etc., à Hébron* (1119). *Archives de l'Orient latin*, tom. ii., 1884, 1re partie, pp. 411–422.

[2] Broadly speaking, dolmens are only found east of Jordan, where they occur by hundreds; whilst very few were discovered in Galilee, and not a single one in Judæa, notwithstanding the careful investigations of the surveyors of the Palestine Exploration Fund. CONDER, *Heth and Moab*; DE LUYNES, *Voyage d'Exploration autour de la mer Morte*, tom. i. p. 158.

[3] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iv. pp. 57, 58.

[4] L. LARTET, *Géologie de la Palestine*, p. 16.

[5] LARTET, Letter addressed to A. Bertrand, reproduced in *The Celtic and Gallic Archæology*.

Canaanites, amongst whom they lived for centuries. On the other hand, we know that the Hebrews, as late as their kings, still made use of undressed stones as more appropriate to the deity.

The country is throughout brown and bare in summer, except the stretches towards Gaza and Esdraelon, where the scenery presents an agreeable contrast to that of the highlands. Clear brooks are running through grassy plots, or breaking in falls over immense boulders, hung with brambles and feathery fern, and over the Jordan plains, broad wolds, dotted with clustering trees, deep ravines and murmuring brooks, whose presence is revealed by tall rushes, or the dark green oleander laden with pink blossoms, everywhere meet the gaze.

The menhir or erect stone is perhaps the oldest of human

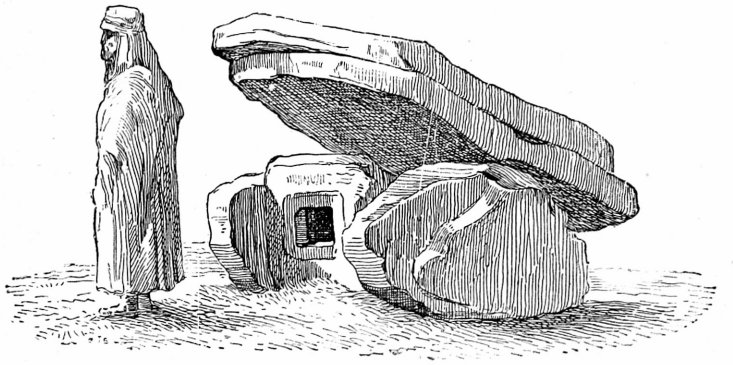


FIG. 177.—Dolmen at Ala-Safat. DE LUYNES, *Voyage*, tom. i. p. 135.

monuments; be it to mark a sacred spot, the burial-place of a chieftain, or some traditional event that had taken place there. To this day, as the Arab travels along the main routes of the country, and comes upon stone monuments erected by Moslem pilgrims, at every point where a shrine first becomes visible, he piously adds a stone to the mass.[1] The earliest instances we have of these monuments in the Bible is the "pillar" or menhir raised by Jacob at Bethel to record a vow; again, when he takes leave of Laban, he set up a "pillar" which he called Gabead Djel-aad, the "witness," *i.e.* of "the covenant they had made" (*Gen.* xxxi. 44–47). We read of the twelve "cromlechs" or "stones from Jordan" to mark at the passage of the Israelites;[2] of Joshua's pillar under the oak Sichem,[3] and of the stone erected over Rachel's grave (*Gen.* xxv. 20).

[1] Respecting this custom, see CONDER, *Heth and Moab*, pp. 207–209; and DE SAULCY, *Hist. Judaïque*, p. 73.

[2] *Josh.* iv. 1–9.

[3] *Ibid.*, xxiv. 26, 27.

It is evident that menhirs, whether singly or in groups, and dolmens, were not always connected with places of burial; but that they had several uses. But until excavations are made, so long will it be impossible to decide which of the menhirs were head stones, and which of the dolmens cover the illustrious dead; and this we may safely predict will not happen until the land shall have passed into different hands. Meanwhile, it is only by analogy that dolmens described in the land of Moab as being possessed of a small aperture in the end slab, through which food was let in, and of a table upon which the body was laid, have been classed among sepulchral memorials. The annexed woodcut (Fig. 178) shows another class of "pillar," more properly "hand," "cippus;" examples of which are not rare in Moab. It is exceedingly archaic, and bears a distant resemblance to an open palm. The only attempt at decoration is a transverse grove half way up the block.[1] The stela of Absalom in the Kedron Valley was in all probability in front of a rock-cut vault, which may have been erected, like the present tomb, to perpetuate the memory of the son of David (2 *Sam.* xviii. 17, 18).[2]

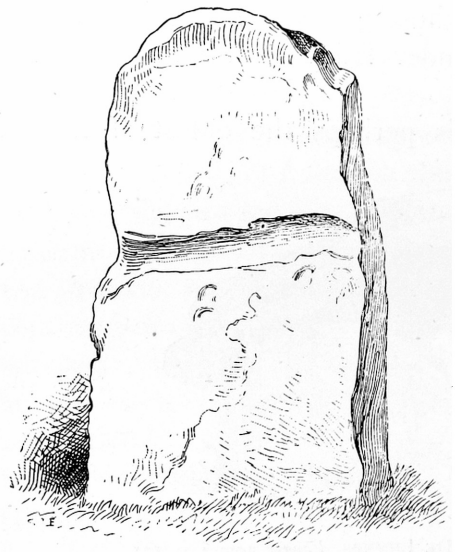


FIG. 178.—The Raised Stone. *Hajr-el-Mansub*, DE LUYNES, tom. i. p. 156.

The opinion long held by archæologists, respecting the comparatively modern date of the monumental tombs about Jerusalem, has been strengthened by the recent discoveries in North Arabia of MM. Doughty and Euting. About the beginning of our era, the country was held by semi-civilized tribes, living almost exclusively under the tent. They owned allegiance to the Nabathæan kings, whose kingdom comprised the whole region between Petræa and Palestine, the Hauran bounding it to the north, and the Nejed and Hejaz to the east and south-east, with

[1] DE LUYNES, *Voyage d Exploration à la mer Morte*, tom. i. pp. 156–159.

Our version of the Bible has "pillar," but, as in other instances of the same kind, it should be "hand."

the important cities of Petra and Bostra.[1] Now in one of its arid gorges on the south, known as "Medain-Salih," were found a whole series of tombs, exhibiting no ornamentation except on their rock-cut façades, but with so striking a resemblance to the Jerusalem examples, as to appear almost identical (Figs. 179 and 181). The same disposition, the same mixture of classic forms and Oriental details characterize them. Thus a cavetto and battlement of Assyrian origin surmount a Greek entablature, having columns with capitals that might be Corinthian but for the absence of the acanthus leaves, which may have been left out because of the difficulty of carving them on stone; whilst a classic pediment, terminals, and a frieze with triglyph ornament are about the door. The resemblance is carried into the inner arrangement, where tunnels or niches are scooped into the side of the cliff along the funeral chamber.[2]

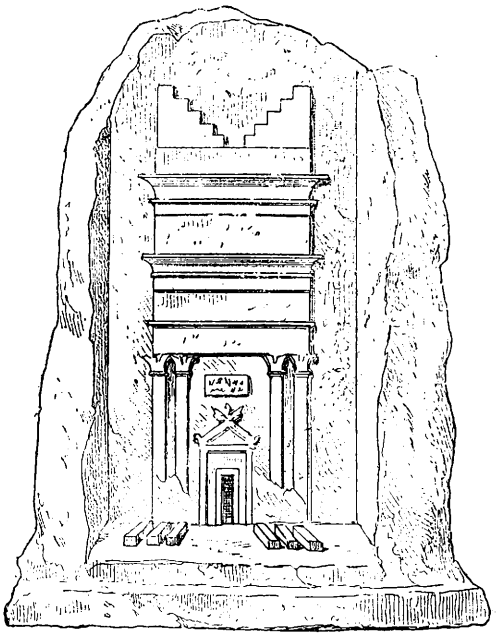


FIG. 179.—Tomb at Medain-Salih. EUTING, p. 16.

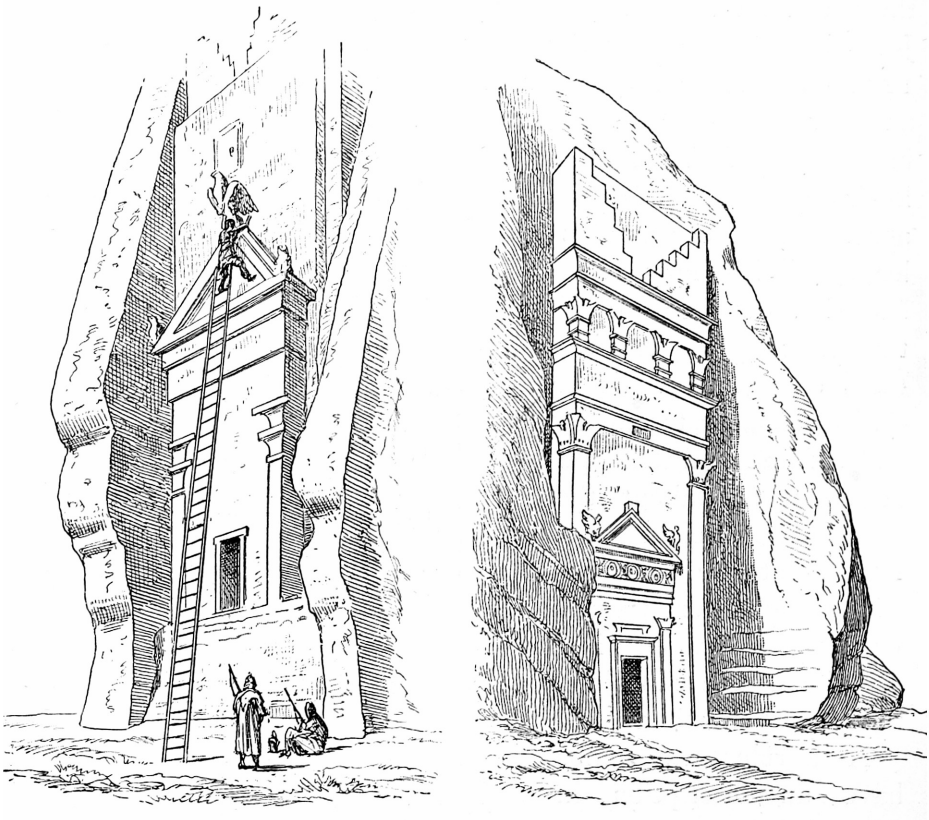
As a rule these tombs have an inscription in Aramaic characters over the door; with the name of the owner and sometimes that of the sculptor (Figs. 179, 180). They are all dated from a particular year of one of the Nabathæan kings; and as the time in which they ruled is known, it was not difficult to prove that the nineteen tombs which up to the present day have been discovered, cover the space between Augustus and Titus, *i.e.* from the year 3 B.C. to 79 A.D. This date is all the more im-

[1] *Documents épigraphiques recueillis dans le nord de l'Arabie*, par M. CHARLES DOUGHTY (avec préface de M. Renan). Paris, Imprim Nationale, 1884, in 4°, 57 Plates and squeezes. JULIUS EUTING, *Nabatäische Inschriften ans Arabien*, 29 Plates and numerous drawings. Berlin, 1885.

[2] DOUGHTY, *loc. cit.*

portant that it serves to dispel any doubt that might still exist with regard to the tombs of Jerusalem.

Nevertheless there is here a monument which seems to be much



FIGS. 180, 181.—Tomb. Medain-Salih. EUTING, p. 15.

older, and which De Saulcy calls an Egyptian monolith. In our map of Jerusalem (Fig. 106),[1] it will be found to the south of the

[1] MM. GUERIN and DE SAULCY (*Description de la Palestine*, tom. ii. pp. 90–104, and DE SAULCY, *loc. cit.*) identify Timnath-Serah or Timnath-Heres as the place where Joshua died and was buried in a tomb close by, called Kharbet-Tibneh. There seems to have been a floating tradition to that effect at the beginning of our era; for it is mentioned by Eusebius, St. Jerome, and even the Septuagint. But there is not a single detail about the monument in support of this view. It is a plain family tomb such as continued to be built for influential people, long after the captivity, and differs in no particular from the specimen annexed lower down. As far as we are able to judge from De Saulcy's drawing (p. 227) the pilasters of the façade are decidedly Græco-Roman. However defaced the ornament about the façade towards the court may be, no stretch of imagination can conceive it to look like uræi, as De Saulcy has done; for it recalls beyond dispute the rosettes and pendentives of the Jerusalem examples (p. 233). This view is shared by Conder,

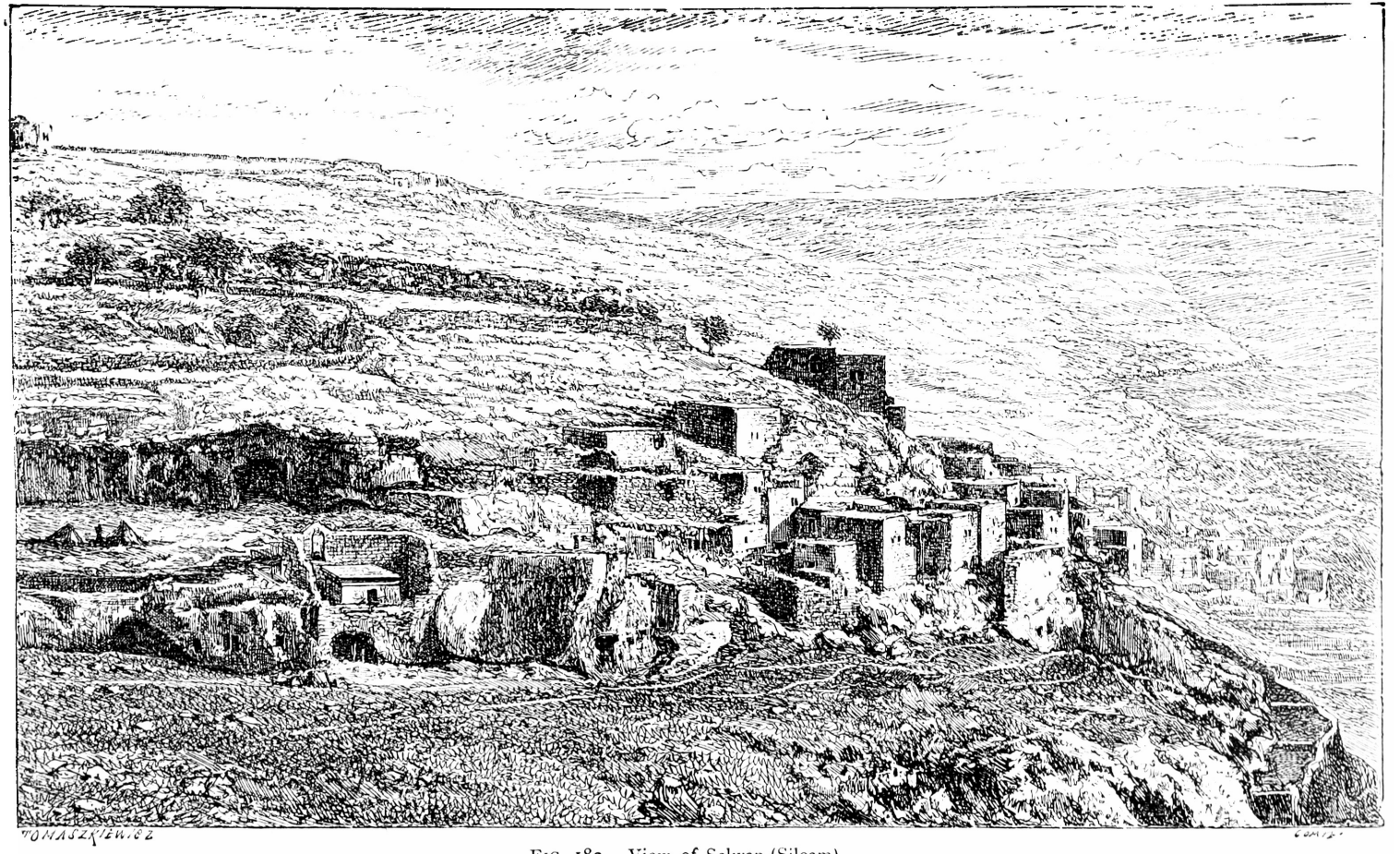


FIG. 182.—View of Selwan (Siloam).

modern tombs of Siloam, it is a straggling hamlet, whose grey houses are scarcely distinguishable from the cliff against which they lean (Fig. 182). A steep path, with loose sharp stones, caused our horses to slip or stumble at every step. It descends to the Kedron, where a little below its junction with the Tyropœon, stood the king's pleasure grounds, now converted into well-watered and cultivated plots. The inhabitants are market gardeners, and supply the city with the finest vegetables seen anywhere. They live in wretched hovels or in the sepulchres of their forefathers, some of which are used as general stores. The only tomb in good preservation is to the left of our engraving surrounded by walls (Fig. 182).[1] It has been recently acquired by the Russian government, and thus saved from further defacement at the hands of the ignorant fellahîn. The interior, which used to be choked up with miscellaneous objects, has been cleared; and the façade which lay half buried in the silt and accumulated rubbish gathered about its base, is now seen for the first time, imparting to the monument a novel aspect.

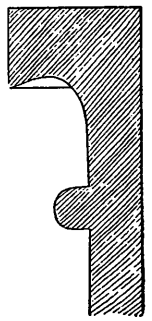


FIG. 183. — Cornice of Monolith. DE SAULCY, *Voyage*, Plate XLII.

At our request, a minute description of this sepulchre was kindly forwarded to us by brother Liéven; whilst the annexed plans are from Benoit Vlaminck, his able coadjutor (Figs. 184–

whose opinion may be relied upon on the subject under discussion (*Palestine Survey*). Had not the wish of identifying Timnath with the place of burial of the great leader been uppermost in the mind of the promoter of this theory, the idea of ante-dating one tomb similar to hundreds of others, which cannot be carried further back than the Maccabees and Herod, would never have been heard of. Nor do the flint knives, found in this sepulchre, go for much, for they have been descried in several other monuments which cannot lay claim to be contemporary with Joshua (*Quarterly Statements*, pp. 198–200, 1880). If the Septuagint states that they buried with Joshua the flint knives with which the rite of circumcision had been performed upon the whole assembled congregation, no such expression is to be read in the Hebrew text (*Josh.* xxiv. 30). It is probable that the tomb was built for a local magnate; and that the returned exiles, finding an important memorial near a city belonging to the tribe of the patriarch, identified it with his name. Myths soon gathered around it; it became the centre of pilgrimage; lamps ranged along the wall of the vestibule were kept burning night and day, and the flint knives recently discovered may have been the offering of the pious, who deposited them in the tomb as a memory of the rite over which Joshua had presided.

[1] The general view (Figs. 182, 191) was taken before the clearing away of the rubbish.

190). The monument is entirely scooped out of the living rock, the back only adhering thereto. Its general appearance is not unlike that of the Egyptian shrines seen in our museums.[1] Like them, the walls are slightly inclined inward, whilst the mouldings, cavetto, and plain flat band about the door, serve to deepen the

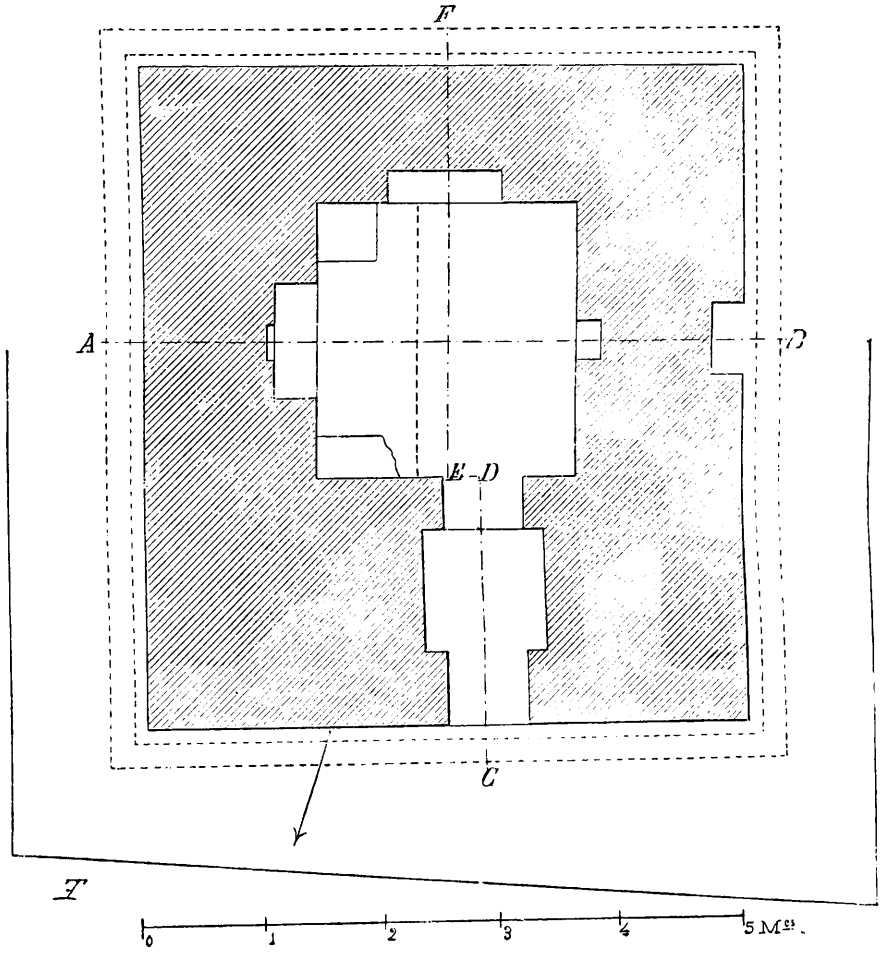


FIG. 184.—Siloam Monolith. Plan.

resemblance (Fig. 183).[2] The height, now that its base is visible, is almost four metres. Its shape is a pyramidal mass not quite square in plan, for it measures 6 m. 10 c. in length from the upper

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. i. Fig. 211.

[2] Brother Vlaminck's plans do not show the incline; this is due probably to the draughtsman having forgotten to allow for it, or to imperfect understanding of the sketch he was working from.

platform, by 5 m. 60 c. broad. The entrance, 1 m. 45 c. is in the middle of the west side, and opens into a small ante-room, with a

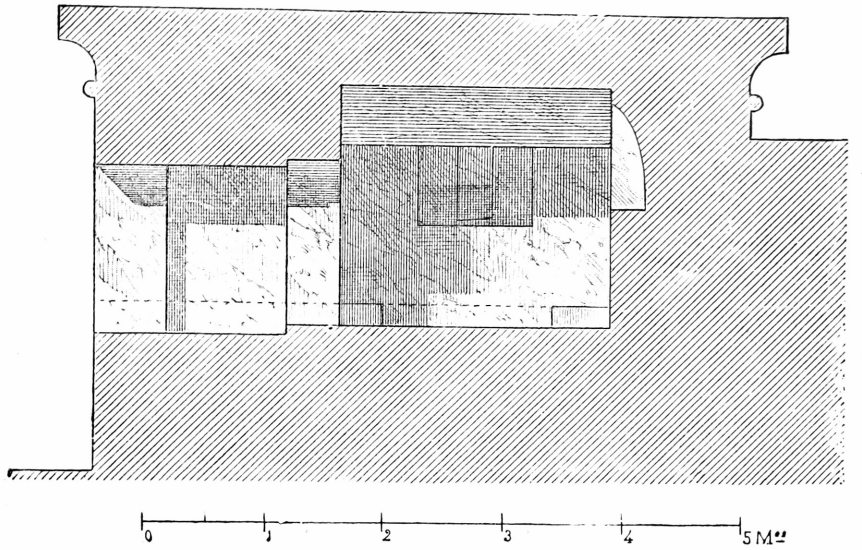


FIG. 185.—Longitudinal Section through *C D E F*.

door leading into a second chamber 2 m. 45 c. each way, the left and end walls of which exhibit an arched niche (Figs. 185, 186)

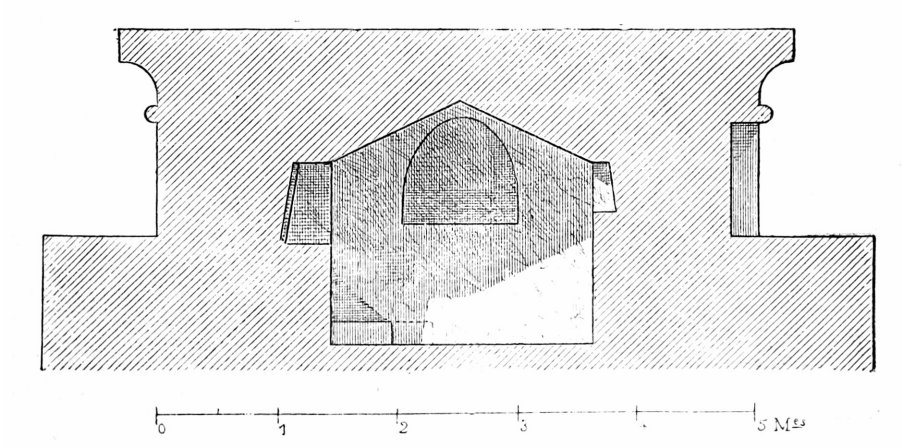


FIG. 186.—Transverse Section through *A B*.

some 80 c. above the floor. There is one also on the right side wall, but smaller (Fig. 184). Another peculiarity about this monument is the coned roof rarely seen in the hypogees of Palestine, but of

frequent occurrence in Egypt.[1] There is nothing Greek about this monolith; the general type of its construction and of its form suggest the Nile Valley and a remote period.[2] But we very much question its having been insulated for the purpose of scooping out the chamber; a similar hypothesis would not explain why the door was placed at the side—a peculiarity that no one seems to have noticed before. The monument, according to MM. Liéven and Vlaminck, shows traces of having been retouched at different times. We think that in the beginning it was a plain massive pedestal, with an altar on its upper face, to which wooden steps at the back gave access—one of the many places of worship which Solomon had set up at the very gates of Jerusalem; but that under a reforming king the altar was demolished, and the ponderous mass cut and used as a sepulchre. The south face was the first to be attacked, and still shows traces of a rough sketch, where they had begun to work (Figs. 184 and 186). For some reason or other they changed their mind, and cut the opening on the west face commanding the wady. That this had not been the original plan is proved by the door not being equi-distant from the two angles, but rather more to the south than to the north. C. Ganneau has shown that the building of this hypogee was pre-exillic; and that the entrance, at first 0 m. 80 c. high, was in later times enlarged top and bottom to 1 m. 45 c.

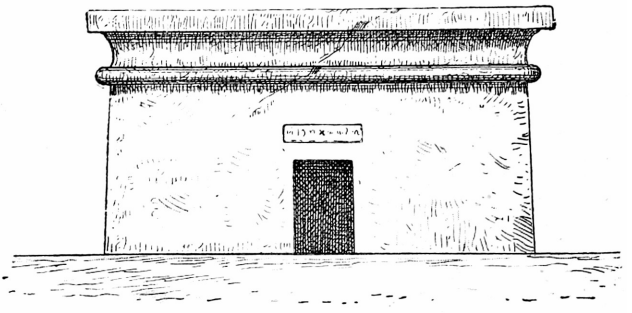


FIG. 187.—Inscription of Tomb, after Clermont-Ganneau.

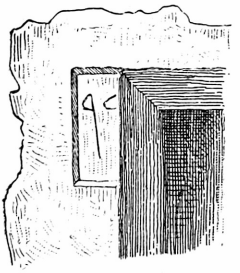


FIG. 188. — Remains of Inscription. Clermont-Ganneau.

[1] M. Ganneau writes that there are scores of other cavities at Siloam with coned ceilings, and troughs which were to receive the body furnished with grooves into which the lid was fitted, in fact, exactly similar to sundry Punic tombs.

[2] De Saulcy did not hesitate to date the small temple from Solomon. But his well-known proclivity for adding the matter of a thousand years to the monuments about Jerusalem would make one pause before accepting his dicta, were not his testimony corroborated by MM. Renan and Ganneau.

In doing this, however, the pick-axe almost entirely removed a cartouche with enframed inscription over the entrance; leaving only the two extremities with a couple of letters on the left, one of which is a *rech*, and the other, much damaged, may be a *daleth* or a second *rech* (Fig. 188).[1] Two single characters, one doubtful, will scarcely give us the key to the epigraph of which they are the remnant; they are important, nevertheless, as being exactly similar to the archaic letters on the speos of Hezekiah. Those

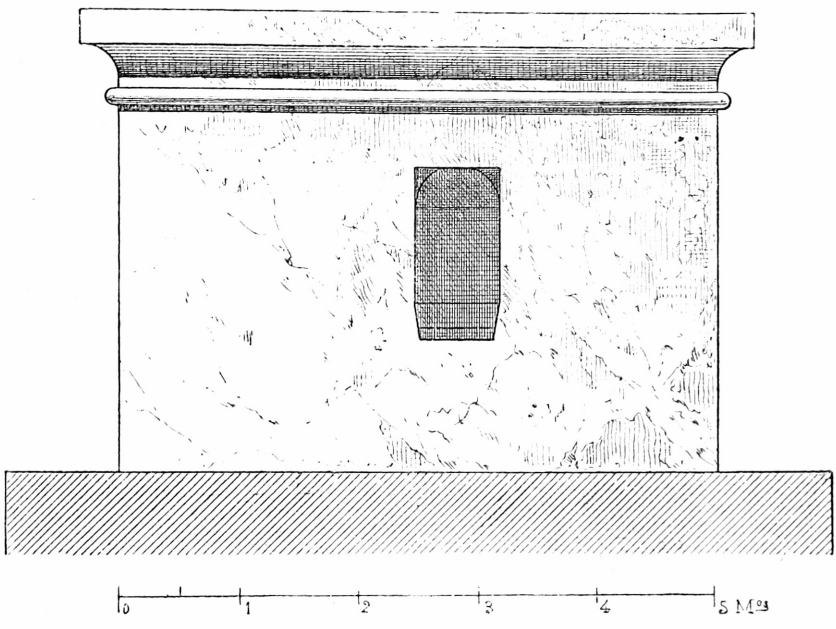


FIG. 189.—Façade of Monolith, after it was cleared.

best qualified to pronounce on such matters, agree in considering this sepulchral memorial as the oldest at present known around Jerusalem; as the sole, perhaps, that can be carried back to a period preceding the exile. There seems to have been on the north face of the chamber a stone bench or table, some 20 c. above the ground, upon which the body was laid (Figs. 185 and 186), but which was done away with when the niches were made. The cutting of these shows a less practised hand than that which worked the primitive entrance, or the table, the walls, the vestibule, and ceiling. Reference to our engraving shows the door 1 m. 30 c. above the ground (Fig. 189).

CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Mission en Palestine*, 1881. *Archives des Missions Scientifiques and Litteraires*, 3e. série, tom. xi. p. 217.

The nature of painted fragments found in the sepulchral caves of the Kedron makes it evident that, towards the fourth and fifth centuries, they were inhabited by Christian anchorites. Some such inmate conceived the idea of making his self-chosen abode loftier and more roomy; he set about, therefore, to scoop out the vestibule and the niches along the chamber under notice, to serve as cupboards for his few provisions and his clothes. It was then that the passage was made higher; and that to secure himself against unwelcome visitors, he lowered the level of the open space in front so that a ladder had to be used every time he was invaded.[1] The

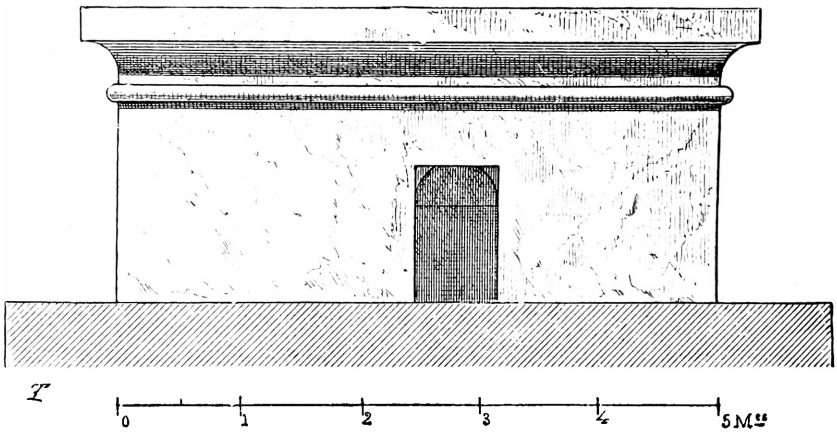


FIG. 190.—Façade of Monolith, before the entrance was heightened.

discrepancies revealed by close inspection of the monument are not sufficiently marked to strike a casual observer, nor is the general appearance affected by them, as reference to our woodcuts (Figs. 190, 191) will show. Its rock-cut character preserved it from destruction when Jerusalem fell to the Chaldees, albeit no doubt, rifled of its valuables. When, after the return, the eastern necropolis was protracted to the north of the city, the monument may have again been used as a place of burial, and served perhaps as model to the architect in building the tombs of Hyrcanus, Absalom, and Zachariah.

Some have seen in the rock-hewn memorial of Siloam the

[1] Niches cut in the wall are frequently met with in the East; sometimes they are only a stone deep, which was left out by the builder, to hold a lamp or some small object. When the wall admits of it, however, they are veritable recesses into which kitchen utensils, etc., are stowed away, much as we see them in old-fashioned farm-houses and cottages.

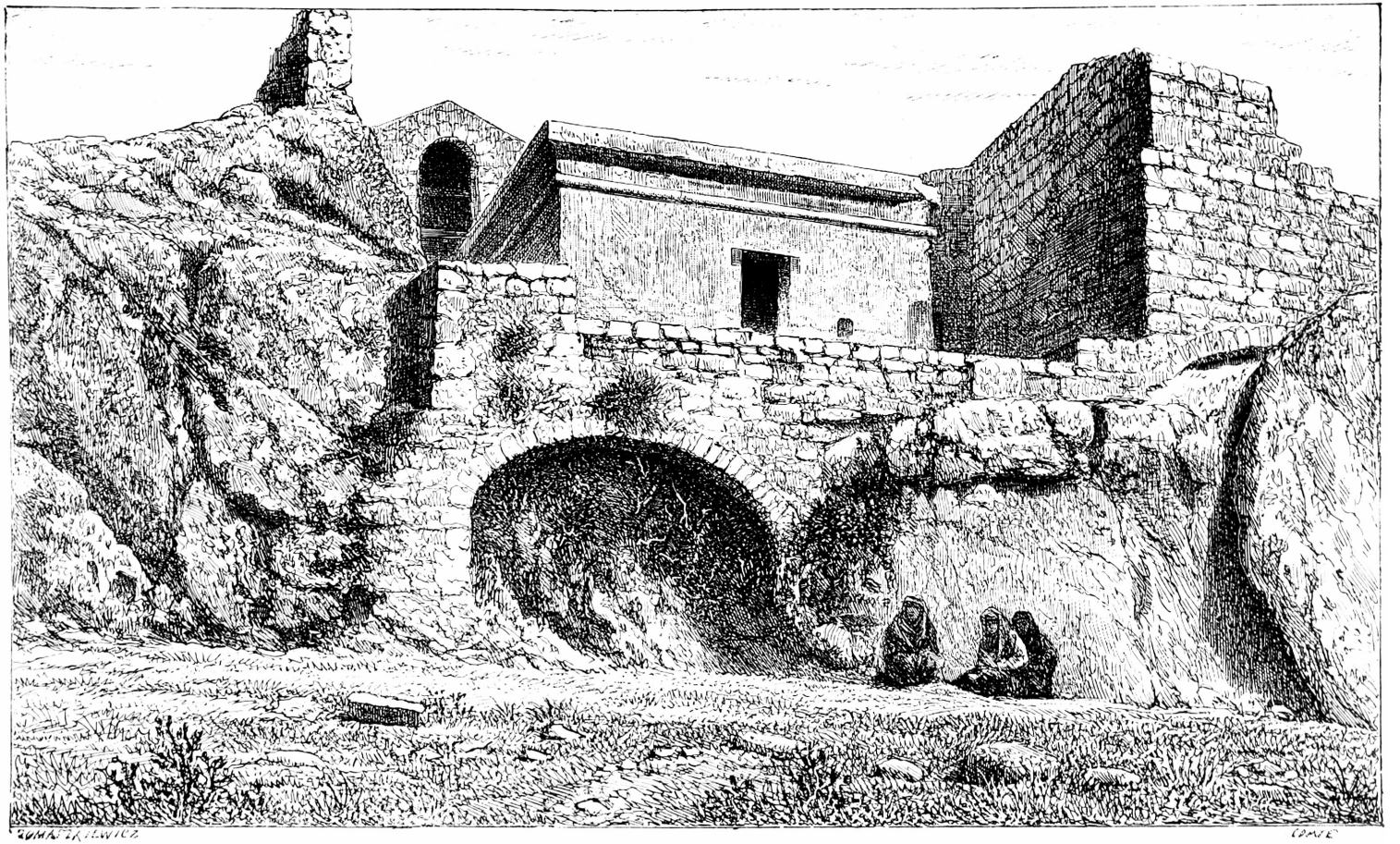


FIG. 191.—Siloam Monoloth. General View.

shrine built by Solomon for the Egyptian princess;[1] a conjecture scarcely borne out by its inner details, which are markedly those of a tomb. It is not easy to imagine how religious rites could have been performed in a gloomy chamber, to which access was only obtained by a small opening more than 12 feet above ground, lacking in fact the very features we naturally expect to find in a public place of worship. Moreover, the Punic or archaic Hebrew characters of the inscription are out of place, to say the least of it, over the façade of an Egyptian temple, where the cartouche would have displayed the hieratic writing proper to the Nile Valley.

Whatever the truth may be, the fact remains that we have here an hypogee, showing a decided progress over the natural caves and the dolmens, in which the early Semitic races used to bury their dead. The rock caverns, which the Israelites found in great abundance all over the country on their first arrival, were deemed insufficient when the more favourable circumstances of a settled life caused them to multiply exceedingly. By that time, moreover, they had learnt the use of various implements, evidenced in their rock-cut canals to bring water to their cities, their cisterns to collect rainfall, their vast stores for grain and forage, and, as a natural consequence, sepulchres for the wealthy. In those early days the body wrapped in linen, to which were added spices, was laid on the floor of the vault, just as it had been in that of the rude cavern.[2] Here and there a stone bench or trough, parallel to the wall, may have been used;[3] but as a rule the arrangement was a chamber, with "kokim," or tunnels for single bodies, running in from the walls—three or four on each side of the chamber as required.[4] It was a type of sepulchre that had the advantage of

[1] DE SAULCY, *Voyage*, tom. ii. pp. 312, 313.

[2] The Hebrews did not embalm their dead, but laid them carefully bandaged in their graves, together with myrrh, cassia, and other perfumes, as may be gathered from the history of Lazarus.

[3] One part of the Talmud, the Baba Bathra, is taken up with minute directions as to the way the grave should be dug, and might stand as a description of a large number of the tombs about Jerusalem, so exactly do they coincide. The tunnelled chamber is believed by the best authorities (Conder, Wilson, Drake, Tobler; see also *Quarterly Statements*, p. 66, 1869, pp. 23–141, 1873, p. 71, 1874, pp. 177, 178, 1875) as the early mode of Jewish burial, long before Hellenism supervened.

[4] Sometimes the sepulchre is walled up, as at Amwâs for instance; where, a few years ago, two kokim were found to have been closed with a compound made of ashes, dipped in oil, which had hardened into an extremely hard cement (CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Revue Critique*, tom. xvi. p. 194).

being easily sealed, whilst every available space could be used; one, too, which we described in our volume upon Phœnicia, and which continued down to the beginning of our era. There is no need, therefore, for a detailed description of it in this place. We will content ourselves with reproducing the beautiful example recovered by Sir C. Warren in the Kedron Valley, half a mile below Bir-Eyûb (Fig. 192), selected among a whole number because of its symmetrical arrangement. It consists of a rectangular court with a vestibule, out of which three narrow passages lead to three arched chambers; the lateral ones containing eleven niches apiece. The third, facing the entrance, has but eight tunnels, four on each side, owing to the end wall having a door which opens into a fourth and larger room, evidently the more important of the series, and intended for the head of the family or clan. The niches, to the number of thirty, occupy the whole wall except in the passage preceding the last chamber, where there is still room for a tunnel on either side.

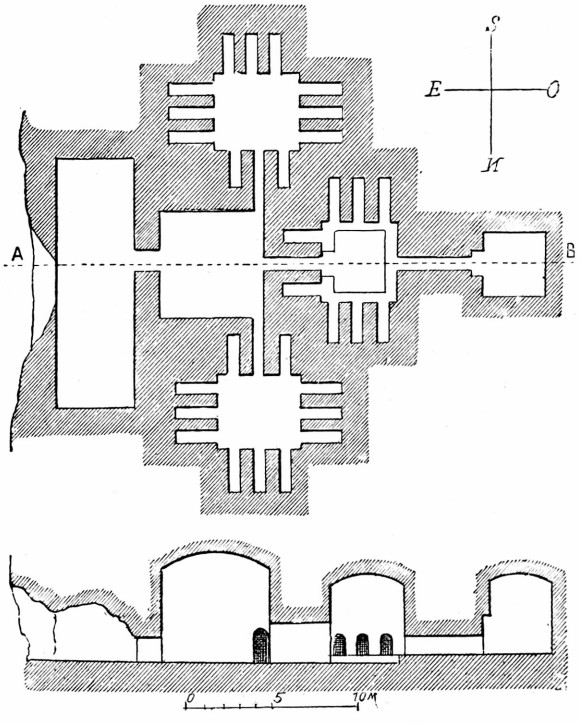


FIG. 192.—Jewish Tomb. Plan and Section. *Recovery*, p. 257.

It seems probable that the royal tombs, so often specified in the Old Testament, were built on something like the same principle as this; whilst the chronographer clearly points to a family vault, when he repeats at the end of each reign: "The king slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David" (1 *Kings* xiv., xv., xxii.). The only explanation that can be offered as to fifteen rulers with their wives and children having been buried (down to 640 B.C.) in the vaults of David and Solomon,

is by supposing that they were tunnelled chambers.[1] The passage in Chronicles which records the death of Asa seems to imply some such arrangement; for we read that "he was buried in his own sepulchre, which he had made for himself in the city of David" (*2 Kings* xvi. 20). This was probably a chamber added to the general vault; for it is specified a little further as "the sepulchre of the sons of David" (*2 Chron.* xxxii. 33). In Manasseh's time the royal vaults were no longer used as places of burial; for he is described as "having been buried along with his descendants in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza" (*2 Kings* xxi. 18, 26).

We may conclude, therefore, that the sepulchral memorials had become full to overflowing; a state of affairs likely to happen where incineration was not customary.[2] On the other hand, it was found more practicable to inaugurate a new necropolis rather than protract excavations further afield into the side of the mountain.

The tomb of the Maccabees at Modin seems to be the only specimen which has a chamber built above ground;[3] all the others, including those of the kings, were rock-hewn. The latter have not yet been discovered; but of all the unlikely places hitherto proposed, not one is so utterly at variance with biblical evidence as that put forward by De Saulcy. He seems to consider the hypogee north of Jerusalem, known as Kūbūr-es-Molūk, as the ancient memorial of the kings of Judah; he went so far in his advocacy as to identify two of the sarcophagi which he brought to light as having contained the remains of David and Solomon. Without discussing afresh the late style of their ornamentation (Fig. 159), the mere fact of their having been unearthed so far from Zion or Moriah is sufficient condemnation of his theory.

[1] 1 *Kings* ii. 10; xi. 43; xiv. 31; xv. 24; xxii. 51.

[2] Cremation was not practised among the Jews, nor among the Phœnicians. The passages in *Amos* vi. 10, and 2 *Chron.* xvi. 14, have been supposed to allude to this funereal rite. But the reading of the word *mesraf*, "burner," on which rests the theory, according to Reuss, is doubtful; and is more likely to have been figuratively used as forshadowing the punishment that would overtake the wicked Samaritans, whom the prophet depicts as sore pressed by the Chaldees. On the other hand, the chronicler merely bears witness to the immense quantity of spices and aromatic herbs that were consumed around the body to diminish the offensive smell, which, in summer, may well have been unbearable, even to Oriental nostrils. Reuss's translation of the verse reads as follows: "He was interred in the vault which he had hewn for himself in the city of David, after he had been laid or exposed upon a bed filled with perfumes and aromatic herbs, with an exceedingly great fire."

[3] Consult GUERIN, *Descript. Geog., Hist. and Arch. de la Palestine*, tom. i. pp. 47–57, and tom. ii. pp. 55–64.

This hypothesis being satisfactorily disposed of, let us turn to holy writ as the best authority on the subject in question. We have seen that numerous passages allude to Zion as the last resting-place of David and his descendants; whilst Ezekiel, in his vision, is no less clear in excluding them, as well as the palace, from Moriah, but close to it; for he exclaims, "They placed their threshold near my threshold, their posts near my posts, and there was but one wall between them and me."[1] The inference to be drawn from this passage, and the narrative of Nehemiah with regard to the rebuilding of the wall of enclosure, "carried over against the sepulchres of David," lead to the conclusion that the latter was close to the king's garden, just below the pool of Siloam.[2] Over it, hidden under the wall of Ophel, the entrance to the royal vaults may some day be brought to light. Besides the necropolis to the north and south of the city, we believe that there was a third in the Valley of Hinnom, frequently mentioned as a place where children were offered to Moloch; *i.e.* passed through fire.[3] There is no difficulty in assigning an early date to the tombs with kokim, and small square entrance in the face of the cliff or slope; but it is not so easy to determine the age of those distinguished about their façade by guttæ, diglyphs, vegetable forms, or listels, as Fig. 193.[4]

Jewish tombs lack originality, and remained what we have seen them until the downfall of Jerusalem, contrary to those of most nations, which may be ranged into three classes: excavations, partly structural, and wholly built. Judæa borrowed the inner

[1] We follow Segom and Smend (*Ezek. Erklärt.* p. 352).

[2] *Nehemiah* iii. 16 should be compared with xii. 27. See also BIRCH, "The Sepulchres of David and of the Kings of Judah" (*Quarterly Statements*, pp. 191–205, 1877), and "Tomb of David," pp. 172–176, 1879–1881. Birch's contention is that his conclusions were arrived at through knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem, and of its perfect coincidence with the text: "Shallun made the wall of the pool of Siloam, near the king's garden, as far as the steps which descend from the city of David." These steps, rock-cut, are even now to be seen at the southern extremity of Ophel over the pool (*Recovery*, p. 280). They were used by the inhabitants of this quarter, who descended and ascended them to fetch water from Siloam. These views, which we share, were combated by Conder in the following papers: *Nehemiah's Wall*, etc., pp. 176–179, 1879; *Notes on Disputed Points*, pp. 228–231, 1880.

[3] 2 *Kings* xxiii. 10.

[4] DE SAULCY, *Voyage*, etc., tom. ii. pp. 313–324; *Atlas*, Plates XLIII., XLIV., X LV., and *Gazette Arch.*, pp. 189, 190, Plate XXXI., 1880.

arrangement of her sepulchre from Phœnicia; but none of her examples have the characteristic stela in front of the façade, such as exist in abundance towards the Syrian coast, notably opposite Aradus.[1] If possessed of ornament, it could not well be other than that seen on the Siloam monolith. The mediocrity of the Israelitish memorial may perhaps be explained by the veto put upon ancestral worship by the priests and the prophets—a worship that was common to the Hebrews along with all the nations of antiquity,[2] and was at the root of most early creeds. Whatever be the truth, it is certain that the Hebrew tomb never assumed

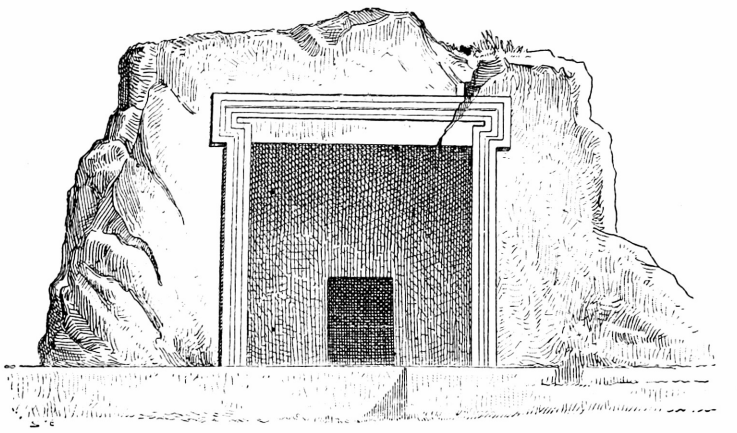


FIG. 193.—Tomb in the Valley of Hinnom. DE SAULCY, *Voyage*. *Atlas*, Plate XLIII.

the monumental character of the Punic model, itself but a reflex of the grander Egyptian type; and that, unlike these, it was undistinguished by a shaft sunk down from the top of the rock, covering it with a slab, an arrangement that had been suggested at Gazeh, Sakkarâh, and the Syrian littoral, by the nature of the soil.[3] So far as we know, nothing of the kind has been found in Palestine, where the mode of access is a vestibule or short passage, and a ramp or a flight of steps, when the chamber is below the outward level. If tombs, therefore, with sunken shafts were excavated around Jerusalem, they must be sought among those of David and of his descendants, which have hitherto baffled the most strenuous efforts to discover them. For how otherwise can we explain the disappearance of monuments which must have been known down

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 150–155, Figs. 94, 95, 98, 99.
[2] *Ibid.*, tom. i. pp. 170, 186, 187.
[3] *Ibid.*, tom. iii. pp. 147, 157, 158.

to a late period, and whose site, within a few feet, is even now ascertained. But a few years sufficed to cover their aperture with a little soil and turf, so that explorers may be constantly walking over them, unconscious that a thin sod divides them from the long-lain treasures that have mysteriously passed away without leaving a trace (Figs. 192 and 193). If our conjectures are correct, these sepulchres will sooner or later be brought to light, perhaps through the merest chance, or when a thorough exploration of Mount Ophel is made, as was done for the Acropolis at Athens and the palace of the Cæsars at Rome. Whether part of the treasures, said to have been placed there by Solomon and his successors, will be found in them is exceedingly problematical; nor have we much faith in the three thousand talents of silver taken thence by Hyrcanus, nor in the gold jewellery which aided Herod to defray some of the outlay incurred in the building of the temple and other improvements in the city.[1] They must be relegated, we fear, among the myths that are sure to collect in the East around any old tombs, for there exists no passing allusion to such a deposit in the Old Testament. But, had there been, it would long before that time have been used by the kings of Judah in their day of trouble; nor would Hezekiah, to satisfy the Assyrians, have deprived the doors of the temple of their gold plating, had he been able to draw from the royal treasure; and finally, it would not have escaped the greed of the Chaldee (2 *Kings* xviii. 15, 16). Whether these sepulchral memorials contained precious objects or not, their site was known at the time of the Babylonian conquest, for we read in Jeremiah that they were opened and rifled (viii. 1), a statement corroborated by Baruch, who wrote after the exile: "Thou didst satisfy, O Lord, the words that Thou hadst pronounced by the mouth of Thy servants the prophets, namely, that the bones of the kings, and the bones of our fathers, would be thrown out of their graves" (ii. 24).

The explorer, therefore, who should prosecute his researches to the very bowels of the earth in quest of the royal tombs, until, like Herod, flames bursting from the soil should arrest his progress, would not be likely to find weapons, vessels, gold, jewels, and pottery of all kinds, as did Schliemann at Hissarlic and Mycenæ. On the other hand, he may alight upon inscriptions left upon the rock, like that of the speos of Hezekiah, or the characters of the

[1] JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.*, VII. xv. 3; XIII. viii. 4; XVI. vii. 1; *Bell.*, I. ii. 5.

Siloam monolith; and what archæologist but would gladly give any amount of silver and gold for documents of the nature and epoch of the Mesa stone?

§ 2.—*Religious Architecture.*

Among the causes that conspired against the Jews possessing a religious architecture should be placed in the first rank the monotheistic character of their religion. Had it been otherwise, the main divisions of the country would have had, like the communities of Hellas, temples of their own. On the other hand, the temple, as it was understood in Egypt and Greece, had no place in the institutions of the Canaanites and the semi-nomadic Israelites, else a powerful ruler, such as Omri and his no less striking successors, would have raised a temple to equal or exceed that of Jerusalem, whereas the national building on Mount Gerizim only dates from Alexander the Great.

The house of Lebanon was due to the whim or the pride of a monarch, who after his military successes aimed at making as good a figure in the world as those sovereigns with whom he was in friendly relations, and whose wealth and splendour were matter of common report. His own residence, therefore, and that of his God should favourably compare with the like buildings at Thebes, Tyre, and Babylon. To exact from the subjects of his newly acquired dominions that awe and admiration which seem to be ambrosial drink to an Eastern potentate, it was of the utmost importance that he should dazzle and astonish them with the state and magnificence of his surroundings. Such a result could only be secured by imitation of peoples with whom civilization had been of long standing. Hence the temple and the house of Solomon were, so to speak, importations from their Punic neighbours. The palace was doubtless destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and from that day it disappears from history and we hear no more of it.

Greek influence was felt throughout Syria with the advent of the Macedonian conquest, and temples which before that time had been unknown, save in the great Punic centres in close relationship with the delta, began to be erected everywhere. Their ruins and those of the masters who followed them in the country are visible to this day. Inland there had been but the house of Lebanon, whose creation was due to the profound impression left upon the

minds of David and Solomon by Punic art, and, mayhap, still more Punic activity and consequent prosperity. This so worked upon the imagination of Solomon that he conceived the idea of having a fleet like his Tyrian ally, and as Palestine had no harbour in the Mediterranean he tried to get an outlet in the Red Sea. But the scheme fell to the ground with the disruption of the empire under his son Rehoboam.

The real and traditional sanctuary of the Hebrews, that which had been from time immemorial, was the bāmāh or bāmoth (Baal, sun-god), the high-place, haram, generally found on a hill or mountain top, with a sacrificial altar and some crude image or symbol of the deity (*Numb.* xxii. 41). The bamoth was intimately connected with the worship of the powers of nature—the moon and stars, hoary mountains, deep rivers, springs, mysterious groves, and majestic trees. It was a worship so deeply rooted in the soil that it continued centuries after the establishment of Christianity, and in remote districts it may be said to have extended to our own day. Names, such as Beershebah, Hebron, Bethshimesh, "city of the sun," Ashtaroth Barnaim, "two-horned crescent," will occur to the reader as localities that were held in reverence by the Hebrews under the Judges and the Kings.

Here and there popular tradition had retained the memory of a remote age in connection with the most famous shrines: thus the altars at Shechem, Bethel, and Beershebah were stated to have been erected by one or other of the patriarchs. In virtue of this pleasing myth their children looked upon these Bethels as having been Hebrew property long before they had crossed the Jordan; and when they had taken firm foothold in the country, altars on the model of the Canaanitish high-place were built at Gilgal, Shiloh, Ophrah, Ramath, Gibeah, and many other localities. Of these, scarcely any traces are found west of Jordan, due probably to the iconoclastic proclivities of the Maccabees, under whose rule every vestige of the old cult that had not been removed was vigorously eradicated, whether above ground or in the ancient national records. These in zealous hands underwent sundry corrections.

The land of Ammon and Moab, which had successfully resisted Jewish monotheism, was scarcely affected by Hellenic culture. There, recent explorers have described hundreds and hundreds of monuments to which the name of bamoth must be given, where Chemosh, of the Moabites, and Milkom, of the

Ammonites, were worshipped (2 *Kings* xxiii. 13). They are all built of rude stones and without inscriptions; but, as religious symbols of the early Semitic races, they will be found of peculiar interest, whether they be considered in themselves, or in reference to contemporaneous or older structures of the same nature among more civilized people.

It should not be inferred (because these monuments show no trace of implements having been used) that the people who erected them were unfamiliar with metals. We have alluded earlier in this volume to the universal prejudice that seemed to attach to a steel blade or tool in connection with the altar and the sacrifice. Thus the Egyptian embalmer used none but flint knives, albeit he had others at home;[1] whilst Jehovah says to Israel, "And if thou wilt make Me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone; for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it; neither shalt thou go up by steps unto Mine altar."[2]

If, when the law was written, the idea was still current among the Israelites that dressed stone was unacceptable to the Lord, it was universal at the earlier time of their arrival in the Jordan valley.[3] Thus, for instance, we find Jacob erecting a cromlech, perhaps one of a heap which had served him as pillow the night before, and pouring oil upon it (*Gen.* xxviii. 10–19; xxxv. 14). At Gilgal, near Jordan, were "pitched stones," or menhirs, which a later tradition connected with the twelve pillars from Jordan, and regarded as emblems of the tribes. They were no doubt great blocks of basalt or porphyry which the affluents of Jordan on the east side slowly undermined from the cliff and rolled down into the main stream during the rainy season (*Josh.* iv. 8–24).

In studying the Moabitic and Ammonite groups, it becomes clear that many of them were sepulchres (Fig. 177), whilst others, such as bilithons and trilithons, standing on the stony surface of

[1] Herodotus and Diodorus allude to this custom. See also *De l'Age de pierre en Egypte*, p. 136, in *Recueil des travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Egyptiennes et Assyriennes*, tom. vii., 1886.

[2] *Exod.* xx. 25. This prohibition is found in chap. xx.–xxiii., perhaps the oldest portion of the so-called Mosaic law. The verse that we have quoted and some others savour of the teachings of the northern "thora;" they read like a covered protest against the innovation introduced in the temple by Solomon. See also *Deut.* xxvi. 5, 6–12.

[3] MAURICE VERNES, "Les plus Anciens Sanctuaires des Israelites" (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, tom. iii. pp. 22–48, 1882).

the ground, are scarcely what would be expected in the form of a tomb. To these a religious character must be ascribed, akin to that of monuments of the same nature at Gilgal, Bethel, and Brittany. Sometimes the menhir is insulated, as in Fig. 178;[1] at other times it forms the centre of a single, a double, or even a treble row of stones (Figs. 194–196).[2] The central block of Fig. 194 is over 12 feet in height. Dolmens, as well as circular and rectangular enclosures are met with side by side in the same district. To this class belongs the menhir group called "Es Mareighât," "smeared" with some thick liquid (Fig. 197). At Minyeh, the best-preserved example (Fig. 198) presents a circle of large blocks rudely piled, with a cubical stone or bætulus in the middle, such as the ancient Semites were wont to consecrate to their chief female deity. To the east, a little courtyard is formed by a single ring of stones. These rude shrines of Moab bear a faint resemblance to the Punic

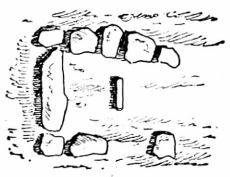


FIG. 194.—Stone Enclosure. Deir Ghuzaleh. Plan. *The Survey of Western Palestine*, tom. ii. p. 115.

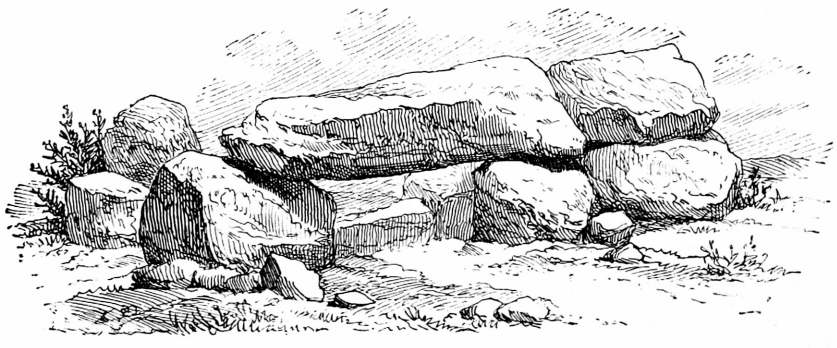


FIG. 195.—Stone Enclosure. Deir Ghuzaleh. Front View.

temples at Gaulos and Malta,[3] except that these, albeit exceedingly archaic, testify to some progress in constructive art; if the walls are still built of stones roughly hewn, the doors and the interior show blocks deftly cut and chiselled. Then, too, they are more complicated in plan, with apses at different levels, but taken alto-

[1] *Quarterly Statements*, p. 70, 1882. Some menhirs reach the height of three metres (*Ibid.*, p. 71).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72. Near Kefrein is a circle, with central stone four metres in diameter.

[3] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii., chap. iv. § 3.

gether, the arrangement is about the same, consisting of a circular or quadrangular enclosure, with the fetish stone in the inner chamber or haram, whilst a larger division, likewise open to



FIG. 196.—Stone Circle. Deir Ghuzaleh. Inner View.

the sky, was destined for the frequenters of the shrine. The Maltese examples seem to be the development of a type proper to Syria; in Peræa they present a more rudimentary form, and

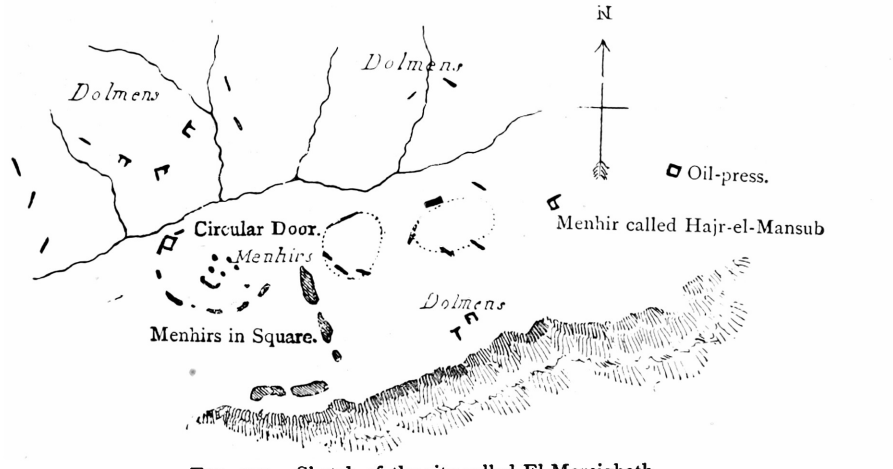


FIG. 197.—Sketch of the site called El Mareighath.

are, moreover, without an opening at the end (Fig. 198). To penetrate into the sanctuary properly so called, it was necessary to scale a wall about one metre in height, whilst the courtyard was entered through the spaces interposed between the blocks, or over

the wall when it consisted of but one ring of stones.[1] A dolmen, or more properly "table stone," implies a gateway, such as is formed by a trilithon, or menhirs and dolmens pierced with a hole

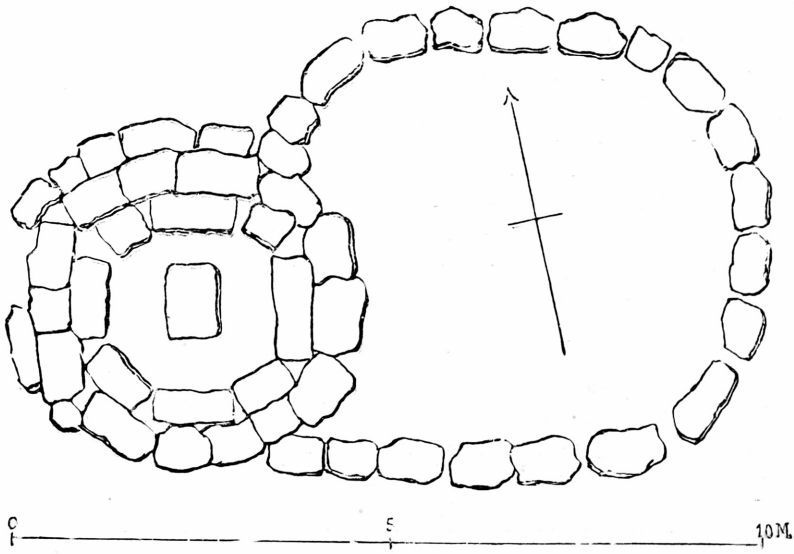


FIG. 198.—Plan of Stone Circle at Minieh. *Quarterly Statements*, 1882, p. 72.

(Figs. 195, 196).[2] Certain circles formed by concentric rows of stones placed on the ground, and an open space or avenue of about 1 m. 25 c. interposing, measure no less than 180 metres in diameter. In or near these circles are dolmens, believed by Major Conder to have been altars; he would include in this class dolmens that were neither covered by a mound nor closed by a cairn,[3] consisting of two stones about one metre in height, which sustain a third or table of different degrees of flatness (Fig. 199).

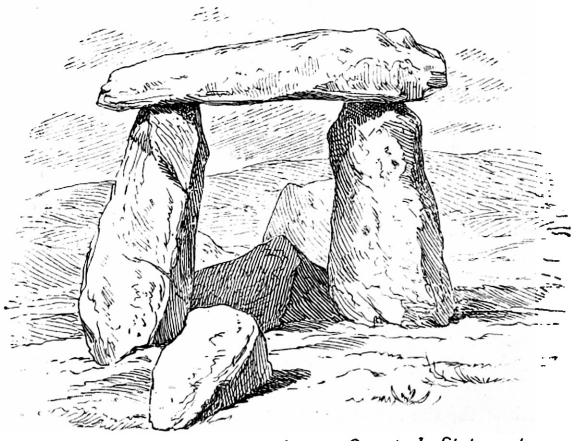


FIG. 199.—Dolmen, Hesbon. *Quarterly Statements*, 1882, Plate II.

[1] *Quarterly Statements*, p. 70, 1882.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 75–77.

The hollows observed in this class of dolmens are always found in inclined table-stones, and seem to favour the supposition that similar holes were joined and connected with a ledge or trough sunk below them, which may have received oil, water, or blood (Fig. 200).[1] More interesting, however, than any yet discovered is the huge single specimen or semi-dolmen of Ammān, east of Jordan. The top stone measures 3 m. 95 c. long by 3 m. 35 c. broad, with a decided incline and a whole series of grooves in the upper face, converging towards a central hollow or cup, 30 c. deep,

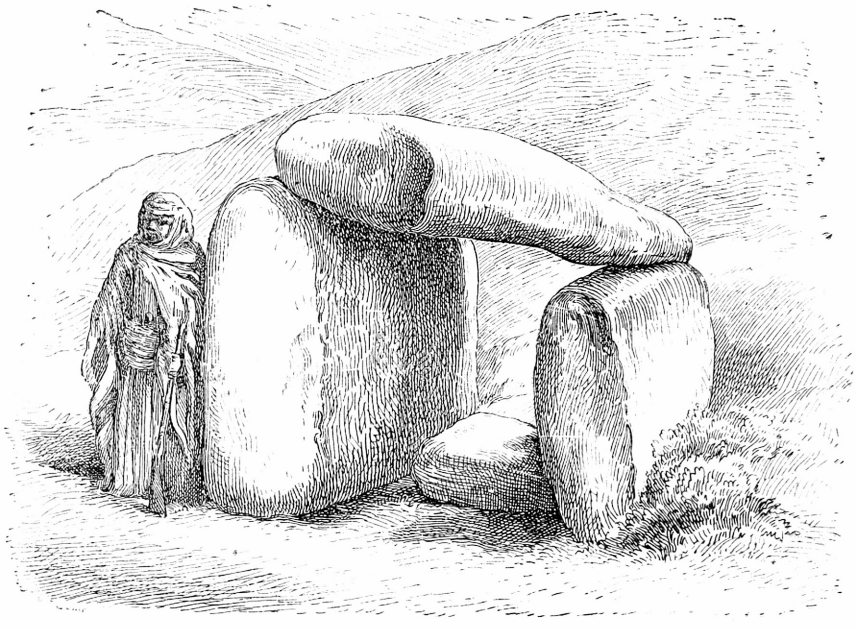


FIG. 200.—Dolmen. Hesbon. CONDER, *Heth and Moab*, p. 292.

evidently scooped for receiving libations or small offerings.[2] The name, too, given by the Arabs to such monuments indicates their original purpose. Thus the large group of "Umm Zaweitîneh" is known as "mother of the small olive-trees," though no such trees exist, whilst we have seen that the Mareighât group bears the same signification. Taking these indications along with what we learn in the Bible in regard to Jacob's stone at Bethel, and those of the Canaanites overthrown by the kings of Judah, the conclusion seems irresistible that the menhirs of Moab and Gilead were originally objects of worship, which were anointed with oil

[1] *Heth and Moab*, p. 259.

[2] *Quarterly Statements*, p. 76, 1882.

or smeared with blood.[1] Were we required to furnish a proof of our thesis, we should name the dolmen called Hajr-ed-Dumm, the stone of blood, north of the sea of Galilee; whilst in many places of Peræa menhirs have been descried with hollows or cups on the top stone or on the side.[2] The high plateaux east of Jordan have thus preserved the early type of the Canaanite high-place, be it a single menhir, a cubical stone enclosed in a circle, or rough stone altars, such as were still preferred towards the eighth or seventh century B.C. to the brazen altar of Solomon. Menhirs, like trees many centuries old, were also supposed to be capable of curing any person laid on them; to this day, throughout the East, Moslems and Christians believe that they "lay their disease" on the branch of a tree by hanging a small piece of their dress thereon.[3] Traces of this tree-worship are apparent in many a passage of the Old Testament; sometimes the fetish was large enough to shelter the whole tribe, as the "monument tree" at Sichem; or it might be a laurel, tamarind, and the like, whose shape and fine foliage singled it out from among the rank and file of other shrubs.[4] Here and there, as at Hebron, the shrine was connected with a sacred grove, whilst the oak at Mambre shown to visitors is said to be a remnant of the ancient wood (Fig. 201). Then, too, living springs and fountains, fringed with oleanders, around which grew turf in thick abundance, were likewise objects of popular reverence. In order to add to the natural beauty of these religious centres, had they recourse to awnings from tree to tree and carpets for the feet? It is highly probable; but no historic—excepting the Mesa stone—nor poetic monument, has been found east of Jordan to enable us to reconstruct the native sanctuaries of which the skeletons alone remain, whilst monuments of this class have fared scarcely better in Judæa and Samaria. In the latter, on Mount Gerizim, are still shown immense uncut stone blocks, which may have formed part of the altar built by the Samaritans (Fig. 202).[5] On the other hand, by comparing the data yielded by Holy Writ with the

[1] *Gen.* xxviii. 18; xxxv. 14. [2] *Quarterly Statements*, p. 72, 1882. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[4] With regard to the persistency of the ancient beliefs still current in Palestine, see CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *La Palestine Inconnue*, pp. 50–58. Paris, 1876. The author is of opinion that the present rural population chiefly consists of the descendants of the ancient Canaanites; kubbets have replaced the bamoths of former days, albeit bœtuli are still worshipped in them as of old.

[5] DE SAULCY, *Hist. de l'Art Jud.*, pp. 52–79; and SIR C. WILSON, "Ebal and Gerizim" (*Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements*, pp. 66–71, 1873).

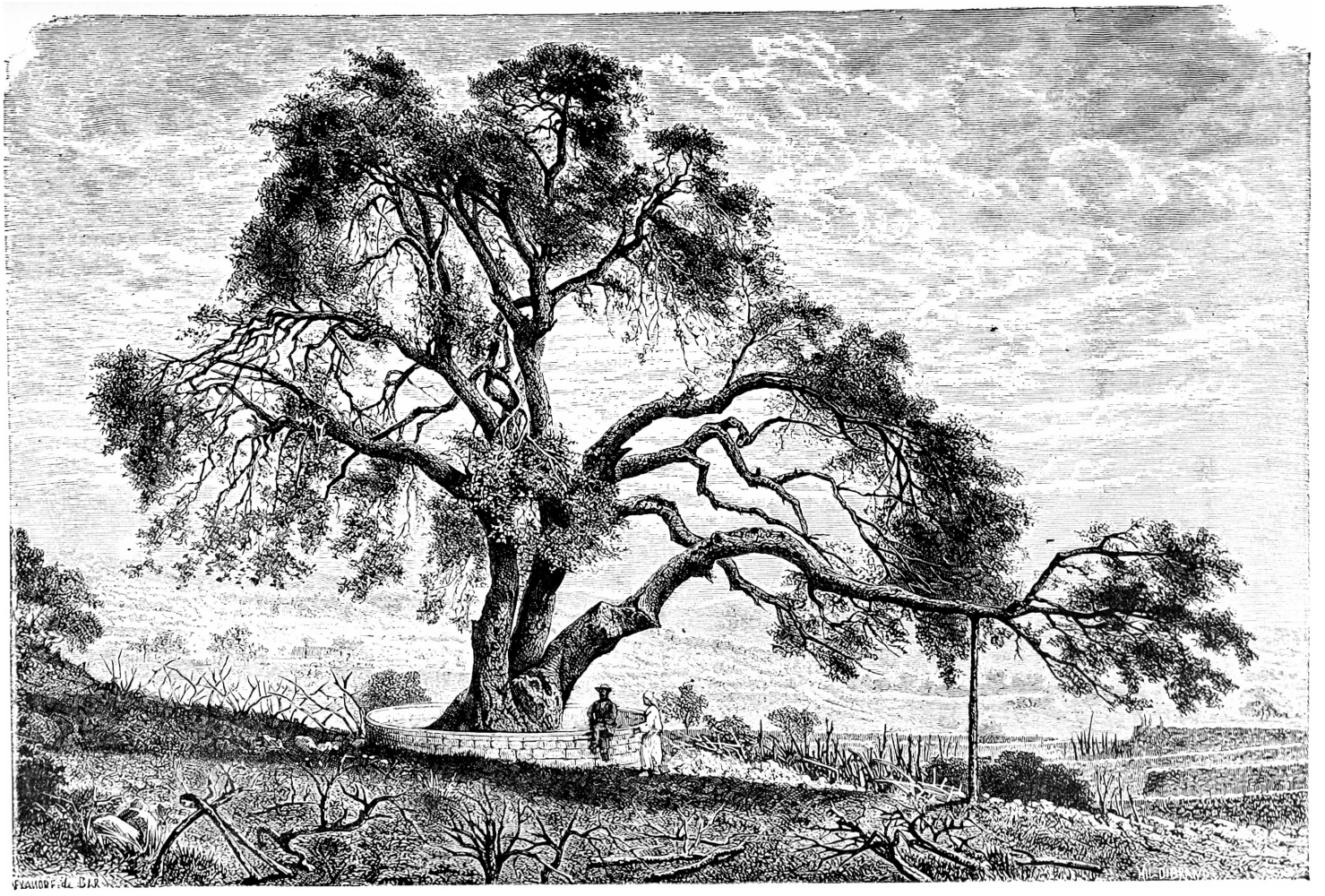


FIG. 201.—The Oak Tree at Mambre.

observations of recent explorers, who generally found traces of lighter structures, seemingly of a Punic character, in the vicinity of tumuli and dolmens, a not unsatisfactory presentment might be offered of the disposition and aspect of the bamoths at Bethel, Gilgal, and Sichem. They were the tabernacles of which we read about, be it like that of the Ephraimite Micah, or "es Aram Elohim," the ark of God, or "Beit Elohim," houses of God.[1]

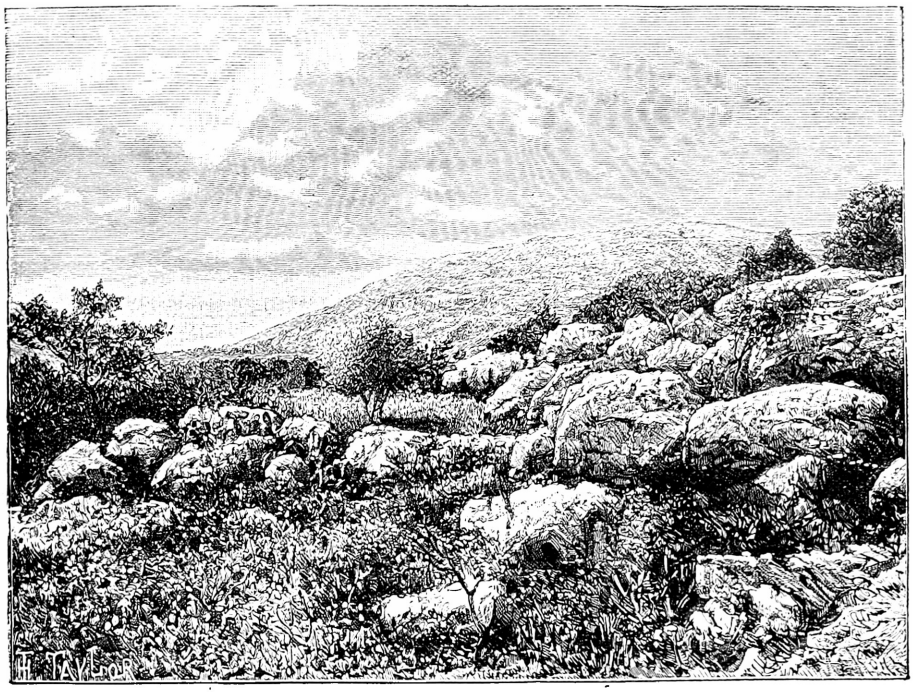


FIG. 202.—Mount Gerizim. LORTET, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*.

Was it in œdicula of this kind or on a pedestal that the golden calves at Dan and Bethel were placed, and upon what structure stood the brazen serpent worshipped at Jerusalem down to the time of Hezekiah?[2] We know not, except that there is a strong presumption in favour of their having been raised above ground or railed off, in order to protect them from the touch of the throng. These precautionary measures acquired in the course of time a decorative character. In many sanctuaries, however, bætuli concealed by a shawl are still to be seen over the male headstones of

[1] *Ezek.* xvi. 16, 17; *Judg.* xviii. 1–5. [2] 1 *Kings* xii. 28–31; 2 *Kings* xviii. 4.

Moslem cemeteries; cippi with a terminal hand and cones were the only emblems of the deity; even when, as in Phœnicia, they testified to constructive skill (Fig. 203). Where stones failed, they were satisfied with poles, "asherah," a diminutive representation of the sacred tree, and intimately connected with the worship of Ashtoreth. It is possible that the pole may have acquired a phallic character by contact with Syrian religions—an appropriate symbol of the goddess of love and life giving—whose rites were not unfamiliar to the Hebrews, as many passages in the Old Testament show.[1] Sometimes cippi had reference to singing, dancing, and rejoicing "before the Lord;" whether by the wood side, under large spreading trees, or on the banks of a babbling brook; be it at the unfolding of nature in early spring or towards the close of summer. Such simple festivities would have seemed contemptible to an Egyptian or an Athenian; but they were all-sufficient to the rural and semi-nomadic Canaanites. Here and there these open booths were covered with leafy branches or variegated awnings to protect the devout, but especially the cippus and sacred objects, against the devouring heat of the sun, and the no less destructive rain. Some of these shrines, the "Baal of the covenant,"[2] for instance, which appears in the history of Gideon and Abimelech, were structural; with a treasure, and a dungeon or vaults—it is uncertain which—where the people took shelter and were burnt to death by Abimelech. We get some insight of this class of building from that at Shiloh, which a century before the monarchy seems to have been an important centre. We gather from the history of the young days of Samuel, that the ark was kept in a chamber or hecal, where lamps could be lighted and a bed put up (1 *Sam.* i. 9). It is evident that here the word *hecal* bears no comparison with that of the Solomonian temple; and that it was

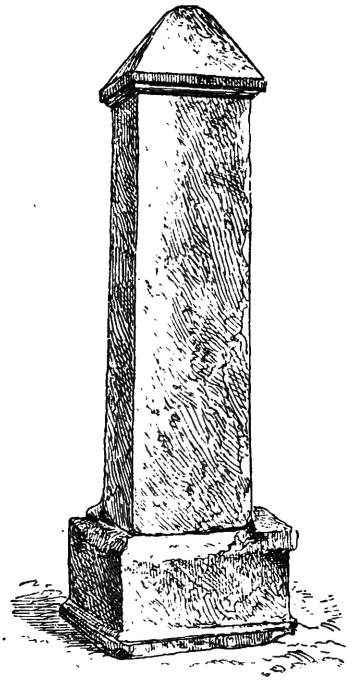


FIG. 203.—Punic Cippus. Kition. *Corpus Inscript. Semit.* Pars. i., Plate VIII., fig. 44.

[1] 1 *Sam.* vii. 3, 4; *Hosea* iv. 13, 14, etc. [2] *Judg.* viii. 38; ix. 4, 47, 49.

used to denote a rather spacious cella. Had it been of stone we might still hope some day to discover it; but at that early age it is almost certain to have been of wood, and thus to have perished.[1] However it may be, the reverence and popularity that surrounded the sanctuary at Shiloh, proved by numerous biblical allusions, imply a Bethel akin to a temple.[2] The prototype of the temple set up by the writers of the Captivity was not this shrine, to which Judah had been a stranger; but the tabernacle carried before Israel, and which they connected with all the glorious events of their past history. But what makes such a pretension nugatory is the fact that, from the day that the Israelites obtained a footing in Palestine, the tabernacle is never again mentioned in Judges or Samuel; and the ark is lodged here and there among the most influential individuals of the community (1 *Sam.* vii. 1; 2 *Sam.* vi. 10, 11). The minute description and splendid ordinance of the monument under notice must be considered as a late creation of the priesthood, desirous to set it up as model of the ampler edifice.[3] The primary idea of this movable sanctuary had doubtless been suggested by those open booths referred to in the last page. Sundry indications betray a later manipulation; whilst the gold and silver, for instance, the beauty and finish of the ornamentation lavished upon the tabernacle, are scarcely compatible with a wandering life in the Syrian waste. The plea that when the Hebrews came out of Egypt, they brought with them the science or rather the art-industries of their late masters, evidenced in the magnificence of the monument and the

[1] Reuss suspects that the verse (1 *Sam.* ii. 22) in which the women are stated "to be assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation," is not of the same origin as the rest of the narrative; hence the presumption that the tabernacle and the hecal were not identical, but two distinct objects.

[2] Note the expression: "All the time that the house of God was in Shiloh" —*Josh.* vi. 24; 1 *Sam.* i. 7. *Le Livre de l'Alliance, thora Israelite*, from *Exod.* xx. 22 to xxiv. 8, inclusive, mentions the "house of Jehovah," beth Jai (*Exod.* xxiii. 19). The custom of bringing the firstfruits and making pilgrimages three times a year was gradually established; and Shiloh became for North Palestine a kind of Jerusalem. It is called "royal sanctuary," and "royal temple" in Amos, implying a difference between it and ordinary shrines. At the beginning of chapter ix. the prophet announces the destruction of a sanctuary, which there is every reason to believe was the less important one of Bethel, in which the words "saf" and "caftor" occur. Now, such terms could only apply to a structural building, with a fine entrance, pillars, and the like.

[3] See *Palestine*, pp. 127, 128, in the collection of the *Univers Pittoresque*, by Münk, who does not as a rule err on the side of scepticism.

vestments of the high priest, cannot be sustained. Had this been the case, when settled in the Land of Promise, in the full enjoyment of a peaceful life, they would have erected a temple to Jehovah on the pattern of those which their sojourn in Egypt had made them familiar with. But we have satisfactorily established that the Jews had no religious architecture worthy of the name until Solomon.

A complete knowledge of Semitic creeds as translated in the forms they left upon their monuments will not be obtained until these are known; involving a thorough exploration of Idumæa and the whole Arabian peninsula. The tribes which inhabited this vast region at the beginning of our era were bound by a common language, or at least it was sufficiently understood by them, since Aramaic inscriptions have been found all over the country, to the very frontiers of Hejaz. In the present state of our knowledge, however, when so few monuments in the peninsula are known, and those inadequately described, it would be premature to attempt analyzing them and arguing from evidence, of necessity scant and incomplete, about the influences that were at work among these populations when they erected these monuments. Those inhabiting the Persian Gulf were naturally brought in contact with Chaldæa; between the Sabæans and the Phœnicians there was a constant commercial interchange; whilst the trading caravans of the northerners connected the Israelites, Moabites, and Ammonites one with the other.

The imposing ruins left everywhere by the Greeks and the Romans do not enter into our programme. Nevertheless, it would be well to remember that before the diffusion of Hellenism, the better-known Arab tribes did not differ in manners and customs from those established on the banks of Jordan; and although their gods were dissimilar, the manner of propitiating them was appreciably the same; whilst the buildings erected to them were conceived on the same principle.

Menhirs are known to exist in Arabia; Palgrave noticed a considerable number in the district of Nedj and on the borders of Hejaz, where he met with specimens altogether on a grander scale than any in Moab; for they are sometimes over five metres in height, formed by lintels with horizontal slabs.[1]

Next to these, north of Medineh is a curious group of rock-cut

[1] *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 258, 259, 1865.

monuments, placed on one side of the cliff in the Salih valley. They form niches, with menhirs standing singly or in groups of two or three (Fig. 205).[1] Opposite to these are the remains of a great hall, called Divan, scooped out of the rock and without

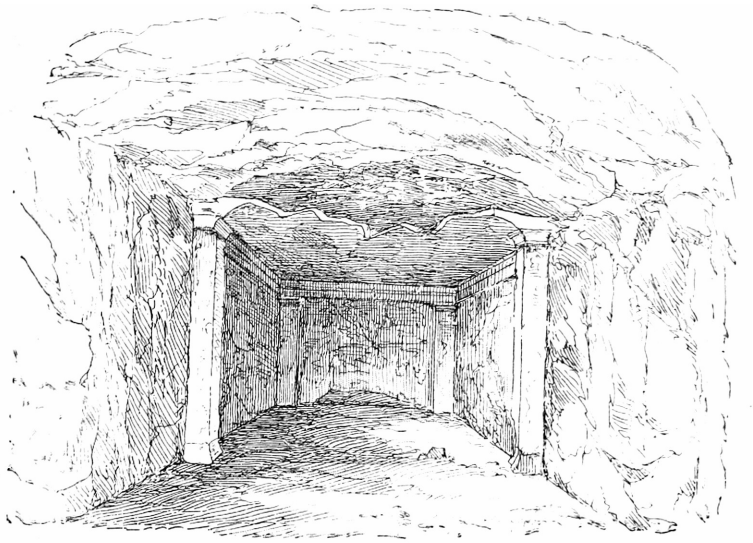


FIG. 204.—Subterraneous Chamber. Medain-Salih. DOUGHTY, Plate XLIV.

niches. It has no outlet towards the valley, but its whole length is open at the back, with two pillars as centre (Fig. 204). There is nothing about these structures either constructively or in their mode of ornament to indicate a funereal purpose, the decoration being represented by exceedingly rude figures outlined on the wall, apparently of no special meaning. On the other hand, all the evidence goes to prove that these menhirs are bætuli, *i.e.* traditional and elementary images of the deity, playing here the same part as the central menhir of a Moabite circle, the conical stone of the Cypriote temple, the cippus of the Lilybæan stela;[2] whilst inscriptions seem to have been placed

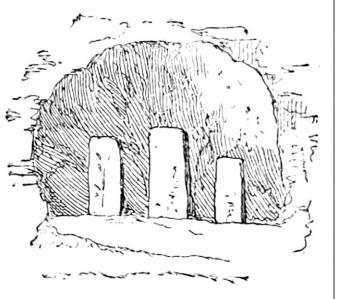


FIG. 205.—Niche. Medain-Salih. DOUGHTY, Plate XLV.

[1] PH. BERGER, *L'Arabie, avant Mahomet a'après les Inscriptions*, p. 19, 1885. See DOUGHTY, *Documents épigraphiques du nord de l'Arabie*, pp. 21–23, Plates XLIV., XLV., XLVI.

[2] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 60; 265, 266; 273; 298, 299; 304, 305; 308; 639.



FIG. 206.—The Teima Stela. Height, 1 m. 10 c.; width of edge, 12 c. Drawn by St. Elme Gautier.

here on purpose to make doubt impossible. One reads as follows: "This is the 'mesyedah,' raised by Serūh, son of Jukah, at Aūdāh or Aërāh of Bostra, great god. In the month of Nisan, 1st year of King Malchus."

It may be noticed that the Semitic temple found here agrees in essentials with exemplars studied in other localities. The divan is the naos, the great court of the Ma'abid of Hamrath, likewise scooped out of the rock, the vast precincts of the Solomonian temple. The niches are cellas coinciding with the small Egyptian temple of Amrît, the debir of Solomon, whilst the menhir stands for the god Aūdah. We may take it for granted that a bætulus rather than a statue was placed in the tabernacle.

Fragments of bas-reliefs and Aramaic inscriptions have been found at Teïma, a small town to the north-east of Medain-Salih. Their character shows the place to have been formerly an important religious centre, with a structural temple, wherein pillars formed a conspicuous feature. The lower portions of many of these are still to be seen among the tombs of the Mohammedan cemetery. They rest upon a rectangular base of six stones, each with a circumference of 21 c.[1] But until inscriptions or fragments of ornament about cor-

[1] EUTING, *Nabataïsche Inschriften aus Arabien*, p. 9, 10.

nice and capital have been uncovered, it is impossible to determine the date of this colonnade, save that the building to which it belonged was in existence long before the composite style introduced by the Nabatæan dynasty; abundantly proved by the tombs of Medain-Salih, and the annexed woodcut (Fig. 206).[1]

It is a large stela, with an inscribed slab towards the bottom to record a kind of compact between the local deities and Tsalm Hagan, an alien god, introduced for the first time to Teïma, along with the priest attached to his service. The inscription is much damaged—ten lines having gone—but enough remains to enable the learned in such matters to determine its date, which they place four or six hundred years before our era. It is interesting, too, in that it adds another member to the Semitic pantheon. The details about the bas-relief seen on the two divisions of the stela are of peculiar interest. The upper figure evidently represents Tsalm; he wears a tall pointed cap, or tiara, and above his head

[1] The oversight which occurs in the text, namely of making Tsalma a local god, was left out; but, in so doing, the account was deprived of much interesting matter, which will be found in the following note, brought too late to my notice to be inserted in the text.

"The Teïma inscription is not merely, as the first interpreters believed, the dedication which accompanied the statue of a king or priest of Teïma; it commemorates the introduction of the cult of an alien deity, a kind of compact between the gods of Teïma on the one hand, and the new god Tsalm of Hagan with the priest attached to his service on the other. The beginning of the inscription, consisting of ten lines, has almost entirely disappeared, an irreparable loss, for they doubtless contained the list of the gods of Teïma and perhaps an inscription. The lacunes permit of but one or two names being recovered, whilst the reason for the importation of a novel deity is utterly lost. However that may be, the central portion remains; it is brimful of new matter, interesting in the highest degree. To distinguish one Tsalm from another—for there was a host of them—forming a family like the Ba'alîm, the Molochs, etc., the locality where a particular Tsalm was worshipped was added to the name, Tsalm of Hagan, Tsalm of Mahar, and so forth. This god is not altogether unconnected with Hebrew antiquity. The prophet Amos, in an obscure passage which has exercised the sagacity of scholars, exclaims: 'Ye carried (in the wilderness) Tsikkût your Moloch, and Khum your Tsalm, the star of the gods ye have made for yourselves;' whilst King Manasseh is represented as invoking the whole host of Tsalms from his prison: 'Tzaïbeni, help me!' The manner in which this god is introduced to the gods of Teïma, and for us into the Semitic pantheon, agrees with the genius of ancient religions. Side by side with the "superi," who are always local deities, alien gods were admitted in a subordinate position in the same cities, sometimes in the same temple. Such deities had their special worshippers, but as a preliminary they had to be on good terms with the local gods. The Teïma stela was put up to commemorate a similar compact. So understood, it is nearly related to the Byblos and the Mesa inscriptions."—BERGER, *loc. cit.*

a winged disc or sphere forms a kind of dais, a flower is in his right hand, whilst in his left is carried a long spear. A long fringed robe, recalling the royal Assyrian mantle, covers him down to his feet. In the lower register, a smaller figure in similar attire stands before an altar with widely projecting horns which curve inward, a peculiarity often alluded to in the Old Testament (1 *Kings* i. 50; ii. 28); his head is bare, and his hands are raised in the attitude of prayer. To avoid confusion as to his identity, the artist took care to write his name beneath—"Selemzabad, priest."

The general character and arrangement of the composition are awkward, and betray an unskilful hand. Thus, for instance, a later artist would have placed the deity to whom the sacrifice is offered on the same line with the officiating priest, as in the Giblite stela to which it bears great affinity.[1] Here, however, the disposition may have been induced by narrowness of space. Further to illustrate this art, which certainly derived its models from Syria and Phœnicia, we reproduce the annexed woodcut (Fig. 207), the original of which was discovered in the wall of the castle at Teïma by Huber, to whom is also due the preceding stela, now both in the Louvre. If the latter had an inscription, which is probable, it is now completely obliterated, but its subject clearly declares its having been put up to commemorate a votive offering. On the left of the picture is a high pedestal, consisting of twin stools placed one upon the other, with seemingly a cushion on the top. Over this is a litter, which served to carry the god in the processional festivities. The only indication, however, that we have of a figure having been here, is a patch in relief, perhaps the end of his robe. This, though apparent in the stela, is not seen in the imperfect drawing which has reached us. Facing this, on the top of a rude pillar, or pollard date-tree, stands another figure, or part of a figure, for the legs and the end of his short tunic are alone visible, all the rest being broken off. To the extreme right of the bas-relief climbs a conventional vine (or date ?), with clustering grapes of enormous size, whilst huge amphoræ, one on each side of the pillar, complete the picture.

As incidentally stated, we incline to think that this monument, contrary to the Egypto-Phœnician stelas observable in the Vatican and at Carpentras, was not intended for funereal purposes, but that

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. p. 67, Fig. 23.

it was meant to portray an unusually large donation to the temple, of dates, olives, wine, etc., mayhap in a year of scarcity, and which was recorded by the grateful priests in this stela.

Albeit our information respecting this part of the world is necessarily fragmentary, we felt it incumbent on us to show how general had been the religious type of building in this part of Asia, where the Hebrews were the last settlers, and that if Ephraim

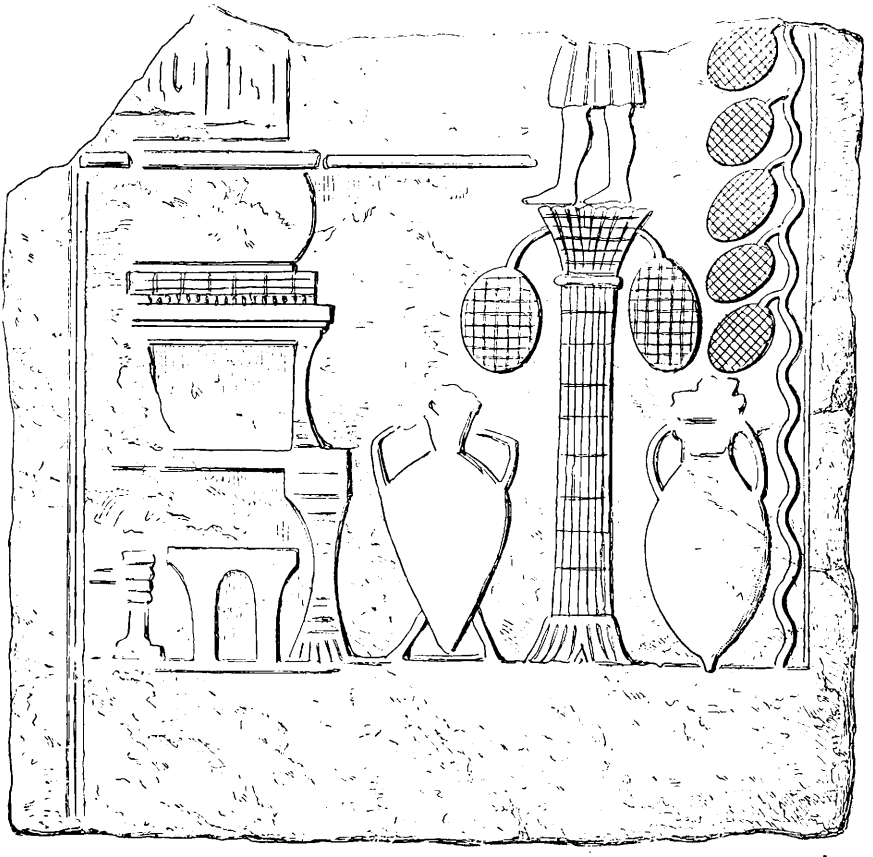


FIG. 207.—Carving on calcareous stone. Teima. Height, 30 c.; width, 35 c. EUTING.

and Judah no longer possess inscriptions and bas-reliefs of the nature of those that have been brought to light in the region once under Nabatæan rule, it is because they have been destroyed.

§ 3.—*Domestic Architecture.*

If before their kings the Hebrews were without tombal monuments or temples, they were no better provided in point of domestic architecture, their houses being built of crude brieks and mud,

with no pretensions to architectural beauty. The walls and the roof were extremely thick, with a view to securing an even temperature in the interior throughout the year. The roofs were flat, and in summer became the common parlour and sleeping apartment of the family. We learn incidentally, from what would now be called a municipal regulation, that all such terraces had to be provided with a parapet, for the greater safety of the population;[1] that the general plan of the building consisted of one tier of rooms ranged round an open court, but here and there the more important had two tiers, whilst the windows of the harem were doubtless trellised, as in the present day. With the exception of the domed roof, it is the modern Syrian house.[2]

We have stated in a former chapter that hamlets, whether open or enclosed, were as a rule built on rising ground, and that the strength of the walled cities of the Canaanites at first caused the Hebrews to lose heart, but that, once in possession, they preserved ramparts which had given them so much trouble, and that the enclosures met with in Peræa and Galilee, with every appearance of remote antiquity, are in all likelihood remains of those cyclopæan structures.[3] The annexed woodcut will serve to illustrate this class of monument; it is taken from De Saulcy, who was the first discoverer of the great "tell," or mound, on which stands a fragment of this ancient wall in Upper Galilee, not far from the lake Samakonitis. The place is called Bahr-el-Huleh, identified by him with the capital of Jabin overthrown by Joshua (xi. 10) (Fig. 208).

The semi-barbarous tribes, amongst whom the Jews secured a place, were unacquainted with the art of the military engineer, which consists in selecting the best and most appropriate materials for the object he has in view. This the illiterate Canaanite was unable to do, but he succeeded nevertheless in obtaining the effect he wished to produce by mass and weight of material. Later, under Punic and Assyrian influence, buildings, even beyond Jordan, ceased to be quite as rude and bare as in former times, and plain

[1] 1 *Sam.* ix. 25, 26; 2 *Sam.* xi. 2; *Deut.* xxii. 8.

[2] *Josh.* ii. 15; 1 *Sam.* xix. 22; 2 *Kings* i. 2; *Song of Solomon* ii. 9. The Hebrew word *chalakkim* or *sebākkah* has exactly the same meaning as the Arabic *shabakah*, to denote a net, lattice, trellis.

[3] Sundry strongholds will occur to the reader: thus Joab laid a long siege before Rabbah, chief town of the Ammonites, whilst Mesa boasts of having "built the wall of the forests and the wall of . . . her gates and her towers, the palace of the king, and the prisons of . . . in the centre of the city."

mouldings, such as those of our illustration (Fig. 209), may have adorned the structures erected by King Mesa. It was part of a stone door frame, found by De Saulcy among the ruins of Rabbath-Moab, exhibiting a floral form which in shape and position recalls the Assyrian sacred plant, and the ornament about the head-dress of genii.[1] The painful effort to imitate its Chaldæan models is as apparent here as it was later under the Greek and Roman dominion.

We have no reason to suppose that the house of Saul at Gibeah differed in any way from those of his subjects,[2] whilst the first indication we have of a palace occurs in the following reign, which we may imagine to have been worthy of the great king of Israel.[3] Its plan or dimensions are not specified, but we know that the walls

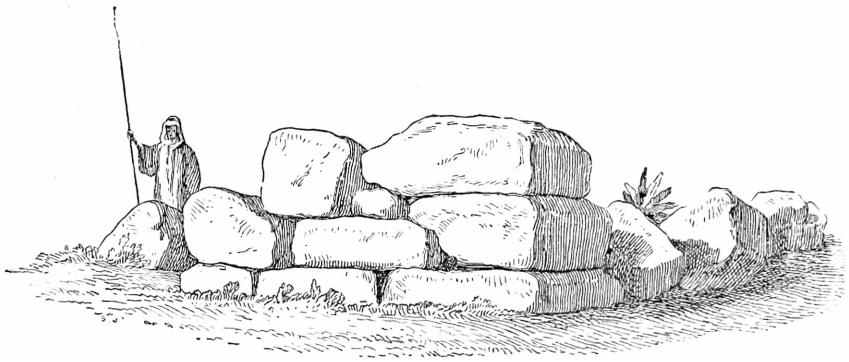


FIG. 208.—Wall at Hazor. DE SAULCY, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte. Atlas*, Plate XLVIII.

were built of prepared stones, and that cedar was used for the roof, floors, ceilings, and wainscoting, the latter no doubt beautifully carved or set out in pleasing geometric patterns. This building, however, was not deemed a worthy habitation for a great Egyptian princess, nurtured in all the splendour of Tanis or Thebes, hence Solomon built a new house, the site of which has been placed by some on the west hill or Zion.[4] According to this theory, it faced the temple and was connected with it by a bridge, the remains of which have been uncovered under the fallen voussoirs of Robinson's Arch. But had a ravine interposed between the two edifices, connecting masonry would have been resorted to, the stupendous character of which would have called

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. ii. Figs. 8 and 29.
[2] 1 *Sam.* xv. 34.
[3] 2 *Sam.* v. 11.
[4] STADE, *Geschichte*, p. 312.

forth the expressed admiration of contemporaries and have been echoed by the chronicler; whereas reference to the palace is, so to speak, squeezed in between the temple and its art-objects. Nor is there any allusion to a somewhat long distance having intervened between the two buildings (1 *Kings* vii. 1–12).

This, taken by itself, implies that the temple and the palace were close to each other, but we are not left to mere conjecture, for the words of the prophet formally state that only a partition wall stood betwixt them (*Ezek.* xliii. 8).

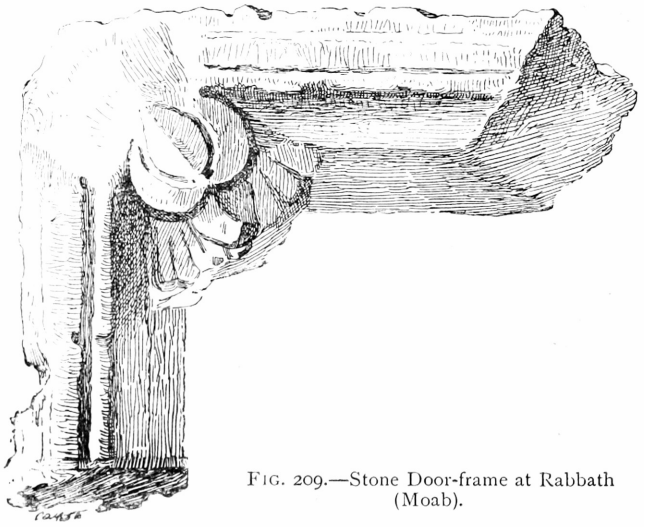


FIG. 209.—Stone Door-frame at Rabbath (Moab).

If the two edifices were conterminous, we have shown in another place that their juxtaposition could not be from east to west, as a glance at Figs 106 and 109 will sufficiently indicate. There is another difficulty in placing the house of Solomon on the site occupied by the Baris or Antonia Tower, namely, that it would have been too far removed from the water-supply found in abundance towards Ophel, and this would have been a great inconvenience to a large establishment such as he is stated to have possessed.

It is more natural, therefore, to locate the palace south of the temple, overlooking the houses which rose on the southern slopes of Moriah, near the fountain, where gardens could be laid out beyond the Pool of Siloam, with plenty of water to irrigate them. Sundry passages in the Old Testament allude to the relative position of the two buildings. Thus we read in Jeremiah (xxvi. 10) [1] that

[1] Likewise Joash (2 *Kings* xi. 19) "goes down" from the temple to the palace of the king, whilst the Lord says to Jeremiah (xxii. 1), who is supposed to be about the sanctuary, "Go down" . . . Similarly Michaiah, after having heard the reading of the book in the temple, "goes down" to the palace (*Jer.* xxxvi. 10, 11).

"the chiefs of Judah 'went up' from the house of the king to the house of the Lord," and again, "those who 'went up' from the palace to the temple," an appropriate expression, if we suppose the house to have been where we have put it. For it will be remembered that the plateau sinks precipitously to the southward, causing a difference of level of several feet within a few yards (Fig. 109). On the other hand, had the palace been to the north of the sacred area, it would have been on nearly the same line, and before the esplanade was made, even higher than the temple, hence people could in no sense have been said to "go up" to the sanctuary.

That the house of David was nearer the terminal point of the hill than that of his successor and covered the old quarter of the Jebusites, is clearly inferred in such words as these: "Solomon had the ark of the covenant brought up from the city of David" (1 *Kings* viii. 1). "The daughter of Pharaoh 'went up' from the city of David, *i.e.* Zion, to the house which Solomon had built for her" (1 *Kings* ix. 24). The various sections of what would now be called the seraglio, were doubtless placed at slightly different levels, following the natural direction of the ground, so that every part of the massive pile stood revealed against the azure sky. Its time of prosperity was of short duration; for it was plundered by the Egyptians in the reign of Rehoboam, and again in the reign of Amaziah by the King of Israel (1 *Kings* xiv. 25–29; xiv. 13, 14). Whether the damage done was repaired or not we have no means of ascertaining at this date. The presumption is that the palace was suffered to fall into decay, for in the East it has always been short-lived, each new sovereign, as soon as he ascends the throne, wishes to build himself a house and to date everything from his reign. Even had there been an inclination to keep it in good repair, the reduced circumstances of the successors of Solomon would have prevented their doing so. It is likely, therefore, that certain portions were preserved, but that the bulk was left to itself, and soon became a ruinous mass. The foundation walls were too solid and useful to be wantonly destroyed, so that princes in successive reigns may have used them to rear their new structures. These, though simpler in style and less spacious than the old, served their purpose better; they had, moreover, the great merit of being their own creations, and as such more to their taste or fancy.

The palace, with its annexes, was comprised within an area, or great court, surrounded by a wall akin to that of the inner precinct of the temple;[1] which to the east and west commanded the valleys of the Kedron and the Tyropœon. As the hill was very narrow, its surface had doubtless been enlarged by means of raised terraces, as had been done for the noble sanctuary. The description of the splendour of the house of Solomon, with which chapter vii. of 1 Kings opens, bears the unmistakable stamp of having been written from hearsay. It was 100 cubits long, by 50 wide, and 30 high. Three rows, each of 15 pillars of cedar wood, supported architraves of the same perishable material.[2] The ground-floor, doubtless raised some steps above ground, was divided by three bays, and formed a spacious hypostyle, with one row of pillars as façade. Over this were three sets of chambers, with rectangular doorways facing the windows.[3] Then a gallery, 100 cubits in length, which could not be given less than 20 cubits in height; leaving 10 cubits for the elevation of the apartments on the second tier (1 *Kings* viii. 9, 10.) As far as we can guess from the general character and the disposition which it presents, the house of Lebanon, as it is sometimes called, was unlike the same class of building either in Egypt or Assyria.[4] The whole ground-floor was taken up by the hypostyle

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iv. p. 288, Fig. 149.

[2] We follow the version of the Septuagint (*τριῶν στιχων στύλων κεδρίνων*) in preference to the Hebrew text, which has "four" rows of pillars; for unless we suppose a very complicated arrangement, it is not easy to conceive how 45 could be divided by 4. See STADE, *Der Text des Berichtes über Salomonos Bauten*, p. 150 (*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamente Wissenschaft*, 1883). It will be seen that the Alexandrians placed the hieratic furniture immediately after the description of the temple, and transposed that relating to the palace to the end of chapter vii.

[3] Our translations specify three tiers, above the hypostyle hall; but unless we suppose the latter so low as to render its aspect disagreeable, we do not see how three stories could be placed within a space 30 cubits high (15 m. 75 c.). This passage, which in the Septuagint is throughout more intelligible, has *μέλαθρα τρία*, "three apartments," three "sets of rooms;" further explained by *καὶ χῶρα ἐπὶ χῶρα τρισσῶς*, "each set of rooms was over one of the bays of the ground-floor; a disposition three times repeated." In the Septuagint, 45 is applied to the pillars, and we are left to surmise how many rooms there were; whilst the version from the Hebrew refer the number 45 to the chambers.

[4] With DE STADE, *Geschichte*, pp. 319–323, our conception of "the house of the Forest" is quite different from that of Thenius and Reuss (*Das Vorexilische Jerusalem*, and note to translation); they both failed to perceive that three ranks of pillars imply a large hypostyle hall of the Egyptian type, and that the other dispositions of the building were made subservient to the effect this apartment should produce.

chamber, and used as a reception-room, where on state occasions the tribal chiefs assembled to hold solemn conclave with the king (1 *Kings* viii. 1, 2). The numerous apartments on the first tier received no light except through the open door. That they served as military stores seems pretty certain; for we read in Isaiah that the arsenal was in the "house of the Forest"—the term being synonymous with "house of Lebanon"—whilst it is formally stated in Kings that Solomon caused 300 shields, overlaid with plating of beaten gold, to be made for his body-guard. This of course is an Oriental figure of speech; for the gold plating of the shields and the targets would represent too great a sum of money for a king of Israel, even if that king had been Solomon. But the entry is interesting, inasmuch as it closes with the following words: "And the king put the shields in the house of the forest" (1 *Kings* x. 16, 17). To the rear of this house was a second and smaller structure, consisting of two sections: a hypostyle chamber, with an open porch, the number and height of whose pillars are not specified, and the throne or judgment room, entirely lined with cedar wood.[1] The gallery was 50 cubits long, by 30 deep; but what it may have lacked in amplitude was compensated by the lobby, which from the fact of its having been specially mentioned, must have been of a striking nature. It is probable that both chambers were on the same level as the corresponding division in the house of the forest; the former serving as ante-room, where people waited their turn to be ushered into the august presence of their sovereign, who sat in state in the next apartment, be it to deliver judgment or to issue commands (Fig. 210).[2]

Then came the domestic dwellings, ranged on two lines; which must have covered a considerable area to accommodate the numerous household of Solomon (1 *Kings* vii. 8). The chronographer was probably acquainted with the "Selamlik" or public portion of the building; but as a matter of course he had never penetrated into the harem, the various portions of which he had only seen from the outside; as, for instance, the kiosk, or house of the daughter of Pharaoh.[3] There is no reason to doubt that the three groups of structures specified by him succeeded each other

[1] 1 *Kings* vii. 6, 7.

[2] We borrow Stade's plan of this building, which seems to be drawn from the data yielded by the text.

[3] *Loc. cit.*

in the order indicated; albeit there is some uncertainty as to whether he started in his enumeration from the north or from the south. The chances are for the latter; for the movement and bustle consequent on the palace and its requirements were concentrated here. The various trades of the city were kept employed by the large establishment of Solomon: and their agents were constantly seen plying to and fro on the causeway that led from this quarter to the palace. Moreover, all the superior as well as sub-officers

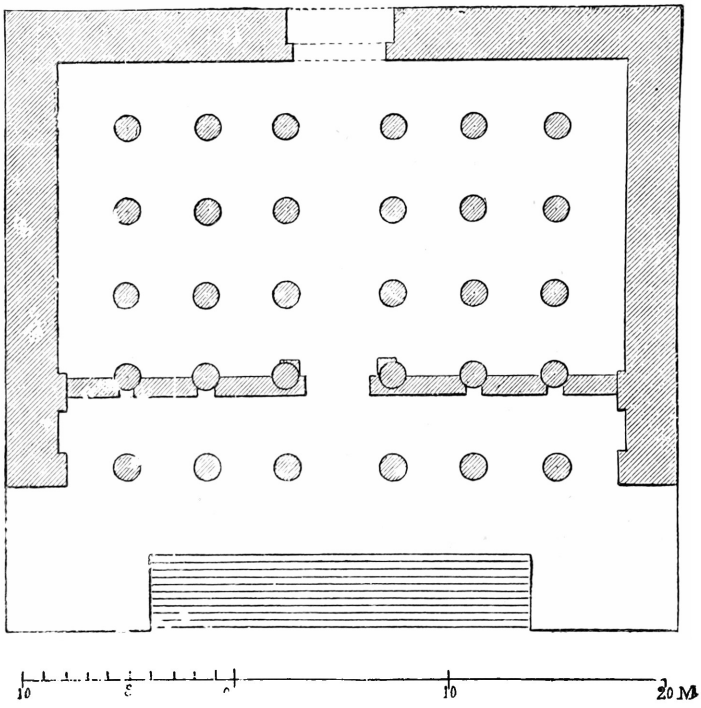


FIG. 210.—Passage in front of Throne Room.

of the household had their houses in town; but repaired every morning to the palace for the duties of their office and went home in the evening. Then, too, there were the days when the king sat in judgment; and the days when his subjects were permitted to make their obeisance, bringing rich gifts as a token of fealty (2 *Sam.* xi.). All the gates had proper names, to distinguish them one from the other: such as the "upper" or "temple" gate, opening out of the harem; the "royal" gate; the "horses'" gate; this being doubtless south of the palace, and connected by a causeway with the bridge, long disappeared, but which was

replaced by a second, the arches of which are still partly visible (Fig. 116). Over this causeway horses were led up close to the court, when a short ramp took them right in (2 *Chron.* xxiii. 15, 20).

The character and the part which we have assigned to the various edifices named in the text coincide with the arrangement of Fig, 211.[1] Thus, the house of Lebanon was next to the city ;

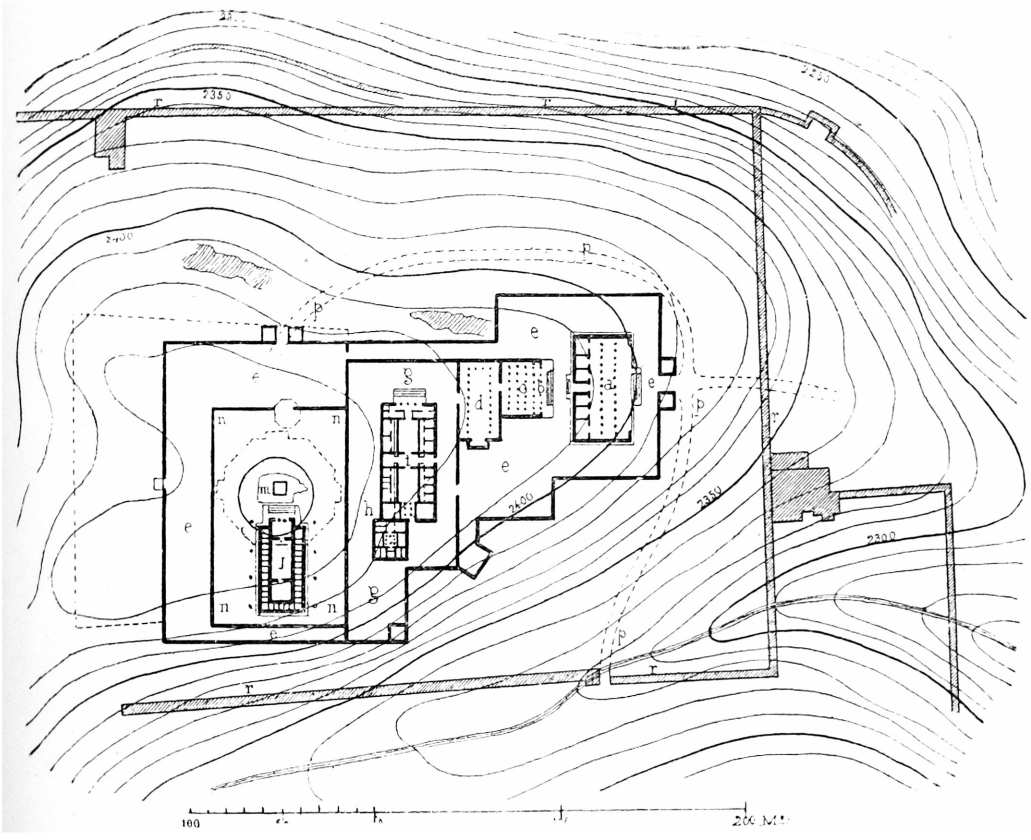


FIG. 211.—General Plan of the Solomonian Buildings.

then came the royal pavilion, succeeded by the harem surrounded by its court and overlooking the platform of the temple. This disposition was shown to exist in the contemporary buildings at

[1] We have stated before that the restoration of De Stade is not in perfect agreement with our plan; it serves nevertheless to give an idea of the relative position of the different buildings. The elevations represent English feet; whilst the lettering may be read as follows: *a*, house of Lebanon; *b*, lobby; *c*, gallery; *d*, throne room; *e*, outer court; *f*, domestic dwelling; *g*, harem court; *h*, house of Egyptian princess; *l*, temple; *m*, sacrificial altar; *n*, inner court of temple; *p*, *p*, *p*, causeways to palace and temple; *r*, *r*, present area of the haram.

Khorsabad; where the passage or tunnel which connected the palace with the storied tower has been uncovered.[1]

It is impossible to give even an approximate estimate of the surface occupied by the house of Lebanon. But we may assume that it was carried on the north as far as the site covered by the mosque El-Aksa. Here, at the south-east angle of the supporting wall, ancient remains are supposed to have been found.[2] The space available for Solomon's architect was exceedingly narrow when compared with the area over which extended Assyrian palaces. The Jerusalem house, with its annexes, would have found ample room in any one court at Khorsabad. Nevertheless, the main divisions, as we have seen, were the same as at Nineveh, Kalah, and those of modern Oriental residences; for in the East, manners and customs, as well as forms of buildings, have existed unchanged from the earliest times to the present day, frequently enabling us to understand and reconstruct what would utterly have faded away and been obliterated in the West. If accommodation for menials, stores, baths, stables, and all the appurtenances of a regal establishment found no place in the text, it was not because of their non-existence, but because the compiler deemed them unworthy to figure in his pages.

On the other hand, we may wonder at having so few particulars in respect to the furniture of the palace; for though the historiographer was unacquainted with the art-objects of the harem, he must have known those that adorned the other parts of the house, which we may conceive as having been among Hiram Abu's choicest works. Such reticence on the part of the writer may be accounted for by narrowness of mind; which made him indifferent to everything that was not directly connected with the temple. Once only, in describing the throne, he infringes on his self-imposed rule: "Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with the best gold. The throne had six steps, and the top of the throne was round behind: and there were stays on either side of the seat, and two lions stood beside the stays. And twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other upon the six steps: there was not the like made in any kingdom" (1 *Kings* x. 18–20).

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. p. 436, Fig. 196.

[2] DE SAULCY, *Voyage*, tom. ii. pp. 201, 202, Plate XXIII. figs. A and B; *Recovery*, p. 324, Plans, Elevations, and Sections, Plate XIX. It exhibits a double window, which supported a balcony. But from what we know of Herod's mode of construction, this window may belong to the third temple.

The last words give the measure of the wondering astonishment which the piece elicited from the semi-civilized Hebrews; for neither in technique, design, or workmanship, was there aught to distinguish it from among countless other small pieces of furniture current at Tyre, Memphis, or Nineveh, of chryselephantine work, to which were sometimes added gems and pieces of tinted glass, as point and sparkle to the composition.[1] Often the legs ended in the feet of a lion or the hoofs of a bull, and were of gold, silver, or bronze. The lion was symbolic of divine or regal power, and it will be readily admitted that nowhere could a more appropriate place be found than on the seat of the monarch. It is probable that the lions which supported the throne of Solomon for arms, were placed in the same position as the horses and winged lions in the Khorsabad chairs.[2] In the tomb of Ramses III., at Thebes, are paintings which reproduce a whole set of royal furniture; now the throne seen on these walls might have served as model for that of Solomon. The back is rounded off, as in our woodcut (Fig. 212), with a standing lion for each arm; the only difference is the position of the lions before the throne; recalling those avenues of sphinxes in the Nile valley which led up to the temple. Repetition with the ancients was supposed to increase the magic effect of the symbol. This mode of ornamenting the throne was adopted by the Persians, and is even now seen about the royal platform at Teheran, which is the substitute for the throne. But contrary to the Jerusalem example, the lions, like caryatides, sustain pillars surmounted by a stage, upon which on stated days the shah shows himself to his subjects, or receives ambassadors accredited to his court.[3]

To return, Solomon was not content with having adorned his city with fine buildings; but set about enclosing it. This is specified in Kings, where we read that, "he [the king] built Millo and repaired the breaches of David his father."[4] The words seem to imply that David had preserved and perhaps extended the wall of the Jebusites.

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. i. p. 839; tom. ii. pp. 725–732; tom. iii. pp. 845–855.

[2] Ivory seems to have entered into the decoration of the throne uncovered by Layard at Nimroud (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 198).

[3] FLANDIN and COSTE, *Voyage en Perse*, in-folio, *Perse Moderne*, Plate XXII.; *Relation du Voyage*, FLANDIN, tom. ii. pp. 431, 432; HOMMAIRE DE HELL, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Plate LX. The plates show twin sphinxes, one on each side the steps leading to the platform, whose position is akin to that of the twelve lions of Solomon's throne.

[4] 1 *Kings* ix. 24; xi. 27; xii. 20; *Judg.* ix. 6.

At that time, however, the north side was probably still open; since he is stated to have raised there a strong bulwark and fortified it with towers or dungeons; the word *beth* "house," being susceptible of either reading.[1] The methods employed by the masons of David are not known; but the extensive works of the following reign on Mount Moriah must have trained a whole class of native artisans whose work was distinguished by some of the qualities of their Punic teachers. To have used colossal stones would have protracted too long the completion of the wall; whilst bevelling and chiselling would have been misplaced in such a place and for such a purpose; but we may take it for granted that they were prepared all over and set in horizontal courses. We incline to regard the supporting wall, which runs from the south-east angle of the haram and follows the declivity of Ophel, as type of the rampart at Millo.[2] As to the quadrangular towers flanking it, they betray different handling at various times; thus, blocks of great finish and beauty of joint, with or without rustication, are met side by

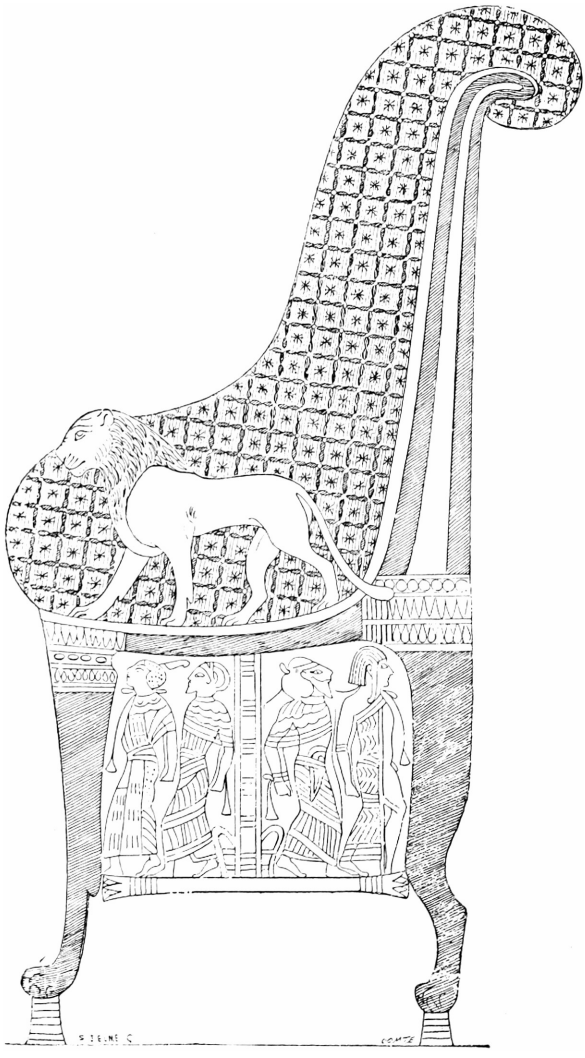


FIG. 212.—Throne of Ramses.

[1] REUSS, note upon *Judges* ix. 6. STADE, *Geschichte*, pp. 195, 343.
[2] *Palestine Exploration Fund*, Plate XL.; *The Recovery*, pp. 287, 298.

side with small stones and polygonal arrangement (Fig. 213). The reason of this anomaly is not far to seek: we know that Nehemiah repaired in great haste the walls of Jotham and Manasseh, and his bad work shows to this day; whilst immediately above it are portions well cared for, which we may suppose were added in time of peace and greater prosperity.[1] The coursed work, therefore, which in these towers is like that of the haram enclosure, should be carried back to the kings of Judah, even though the stones are smaller; the largest blocks not being more than 1 m. in height, by 2 m. 60 c. in length; showing here and there drafted and bossed stones.[2] We may conclude that, as in the foundation wall, here also the exposed portions had had much thought lavished upon

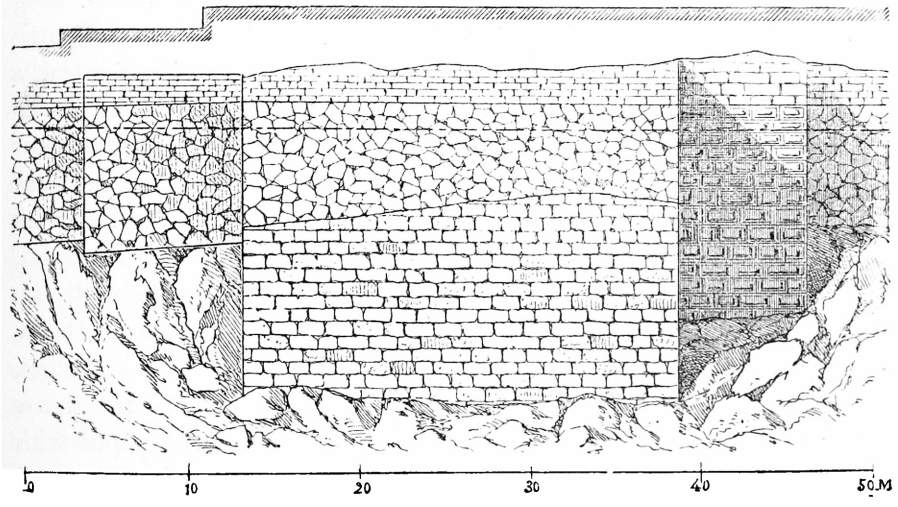


FIG. 213.—Wall of Ophel, after Warren.

them, and that the outer face in the lower portion was alone wrought. Whatever view may be taken with regard to the house at Millo, there is hardly room for doubt that the wall of Ophel contains specimens of the mode of construction in vogue in the reign of Solomon—a mode which obtained in Palestine down to Herod (Fig. 214).

The art of hewing the living rock in order to convey water, supply certain needs, or as a means of fortification, was common to all the Semitic races, and was not due to alien influence. In the English cemetery, near Zion Gate, were found extensive excavations at the foot of the wall towards the country, evidently made

[1] 2 *Chron.* xxvii. 3; xxxiii, 14; *Neh.* iii; [2] *The Recovery*, p. 294.

to keep the enemy at a distance, with a flight of steps leading to a small postern, whilst in the vicinity of the royal caverns and of Damascus Gate, the wall which dates from the Crusaders crowns a perpendicular mound or cliff artificially made, below which is a rock-cut tank.[1] Important works of a similar nature were executed in many parts of the country: be it to carry water from great distances, excavate cisterns, or dig wells. Many of these serve the traveller as landmarks in Palestine, and had been of long standing before the patriarchs watered their flocks at Beersheba, or at the so-called Well of Jacob,[2] near Shechem, where Jesus sat on the ledge of the rock on His way to Samaria, and conversed with the woman, where Hebrew maidens, like Rachel, have come to draw water with their pitchers for thousands of years, the ropes with which they were let down having indented the stone. The well is 23 m. deep, and would probably reach 30 m., were the rubbish collected at the bottom cleared away.[3] It represents considerable expenditure of labour, if not money, for those early days—perhaps 1000 years before the Israelites took possession of it. Its importance can only be fully appreciated in Palestine, where the supply of water is almost wholly dependent on rain and draw-wells[4] (Fig. 215). Hence he who digs a new one is regarded as a

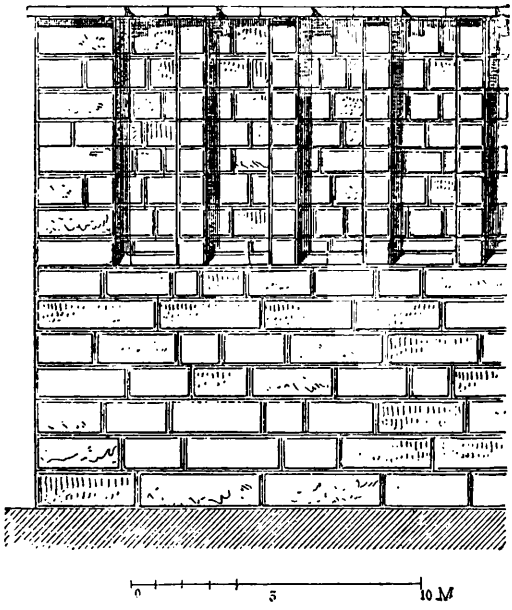


FIG. 214.—Wall of Enclosure. Hebron.

[1] *Recovery*, pp. 395–397. Consult also *Samaria, Judæa, Galilee* (KITCHENER and CONDER, etc.).

[2] *Gen.* xxi. 8–21, 24–30; xxii. 19; xxvi. 23–27, etc.

[3] Length of opening or mouth, 3 feet 9 inches; breadth, 2 feet 7 inches; thickness of stone, 1 foot 6 inches; height above ground, 1 foot 1 inch; depth of the well, 67 feet; width of the well, 7 feet 6 inches (*Quarterly Statements*, p. 213).—EDITOR.

[4] We are mainly indebted for this part of our work to the authors of the *Survey*, etc., reference to whose volumes has constantly appeared in our foot-notes.

universal benefactor. It may not have been a boastful spirit, therefore, which caused Mesa to record among other works, the wells and aqueducts with which he had enriched Kharah, his chief town.[1]

The first rock-cut canals and cisterns on Moriah are doubtless contemporary with the temple and the palace; but they have been so often repaired or enlarged, that it is extremely difficult to separate pre-exillic from post-exillic constructions. All we can say is that the system of galleries connected with the spring of Gihon (the Virgin's Fountain) dates from the kings of Judah (Fig. 216). Of all the springs supposed to underlie Jerusalem, this is the only one which, though much below the present bed of Kedron, necessitating steps to reach the water, is seen above ground. When the Jebusites occupied the hill, the outflow of the spring ran at the bottom of the ravine, then much lower than it is now. The open canal cut in the side of the cliff to collect the surplus water and prevent its being lost in the sand and gravel, dates from that time (Fig. 216).[2] Under David or his immediate successors, a whole system of galleries and shafts supplied the inhabitants with plenty of water, which they could procure at any time, sheltered behind the overhanging rock and wall of Ophel, from the missiles of the enemy, who might be encamped in the Kedron Valley (*C*, *D*, Figs. 216 and 217). A semi-circular reservoir, with a conduit to carry water from the fountain to the shaft or ancient draw-well of Mount Ophel, which was reached by a few steps cut, as the tanks, canals, and the like, in the solid rock, were uncovered by the English explorers, even

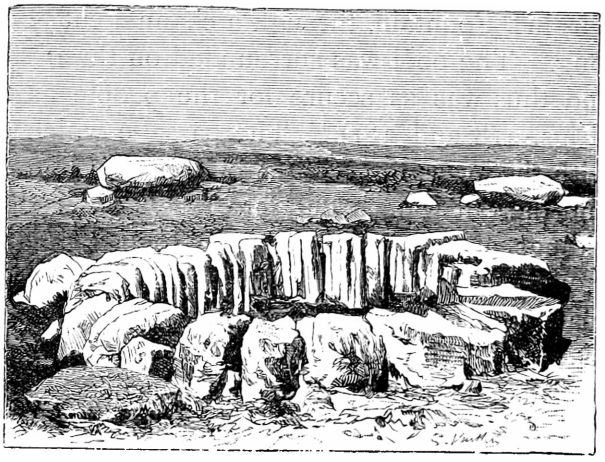


FIG. 215.—Pool of Beersheba. LORTET, *La Syrie.*

[1] The inscription referred to was translated by the late Professor W. Wrigh, in Dr. GINSBURG'S work, entitled *The Moabite Stone.*—TRANSLATOR.

[2] See BIRCH'S Paper entitled "The Waters of Shiloh that go softly" (*Quarterly Statements*, p. 75, 1884). 2 *Samuel* v. 8.

to the iron ring at the top of the well, which served to tie the rope to the bucket to let it down (Fig. 217).[1]

But this was in after days found insufficient to supply the city, notably in troublous times when the outside springs became unavailable to the inhabitants. It was of the utmost importance, moreover, to deprive the enemy of this essential element. Hence Hezekiah, taught by severe experience, stopped all the water-courses without the city and brought the water into the pool which bears his name, and which already received the overflow from the Virgin's Fountain, through a channel cut across the hill 1700 feet long. The pool was surrounded on three sides by the outer wall, and thus was as secure for the people as though it were inside (Figs. 218 and 221).[2] The passage which connects the fountain with the lower reservoir is roughly hewn, low, and narrow, but here and there it widens out into recesses, which may have served as sidings allowing two workmen to pass one another, which would have been impossible without them. It was in one of these niches that the discovery of the now famous inscription was accidentally made. A Jewish boy was playing here with other lads, and whilst wading up the channel which leads into the pool, slipped and fell into the water. On rising he noticed the upper line of the inscription, which alone was above water-mark. He told Mr. Schick, a German architect, long settled in Jerusalem, and the latter accordingly lost no time in visiting the spot and deciphering the tablet. The lines that are generally under water are damaged; many have disappeared, making the reading of some parts uncertain. The translation is as follows: "This is the history of the tunnel. When . . . the picks directed one towards the other, there remained only three cubits to cut, then they heard each crying to the other that the . . . was in the rock from right to left. And on the day of the boring the excavators struck each towards his comrade, pick to pick. And the waters flowed from their outgoings to the pool, for a distance of 1000 cubits, and 100 cubits was the height of the rock above the heads of the excavators."[3] The incidents that attended the piercing of the channel,

[1] *A* shows a shaft left unfinished. In the first sloping passage are toe holes in the hard soil, so that by pressing the back against the roof the ascent of some 50 feet is easily managed. *B C*, passage choked up with huge stones. *D*, beginning of shaft (*Recovery*, pp. 243–252).

[2] 2 Chron. xxxii. 4.

[3] The inscription has 1200 cubits; this, if we take the cubit at 0 m. 525 c., would

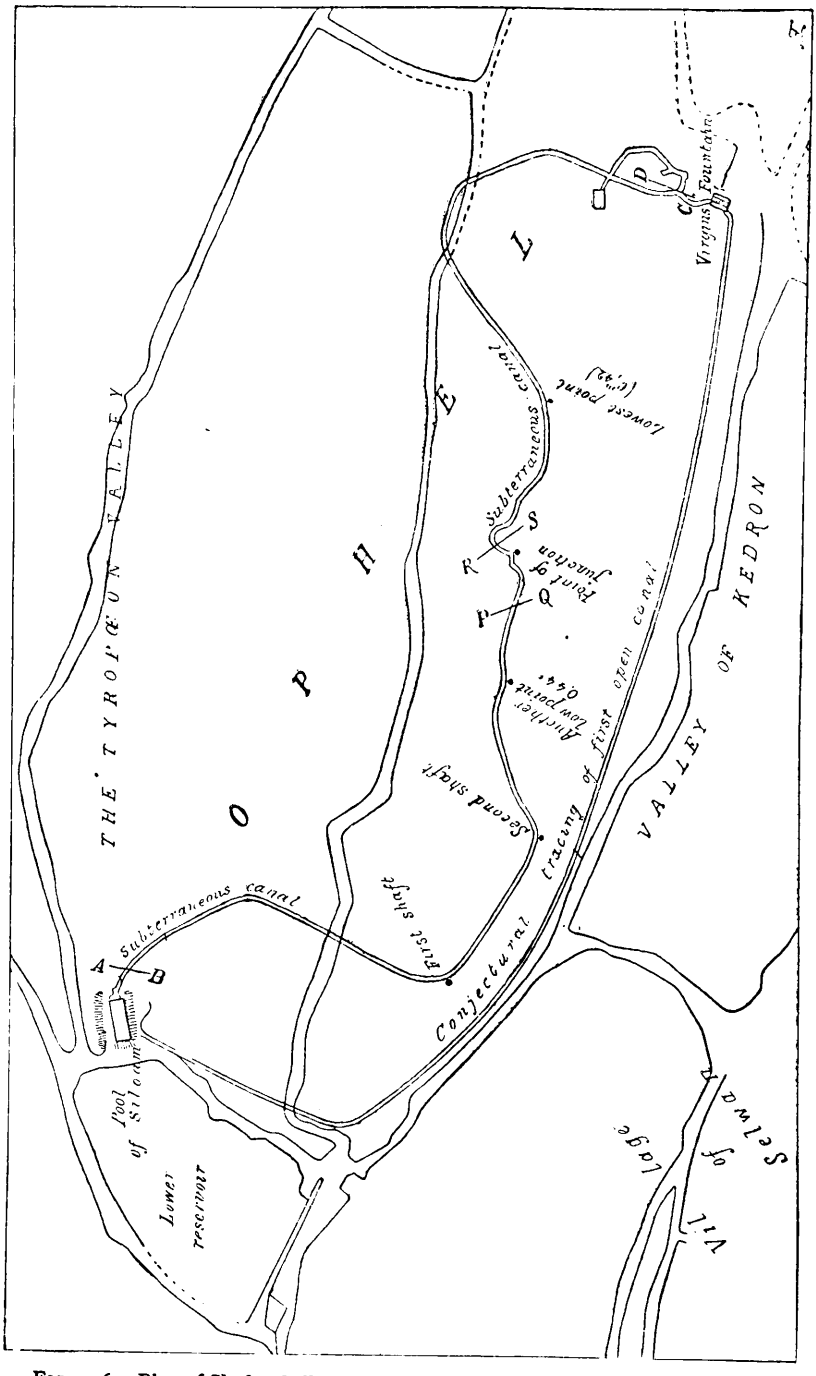


FIG. 216. – Plan of Shafts, Galleries, and Aqueducts of Mount Ophel. *Quarterly Statements*, 1882, p. 123.

the hopes and fears of the framers of the work as to its ultimate success, cannot be known at this distance of time. But we can easily imagine them, as we can understand their jubilant cries when they found only a few feet of rocky wall interposing between them. Thus in a country not much larger than one of the divisions of Great Britain, under the petty kings of Judah three thousand years ago, engineering works were achieved which we had deemed the boast of our own times—the two parties of men meeting

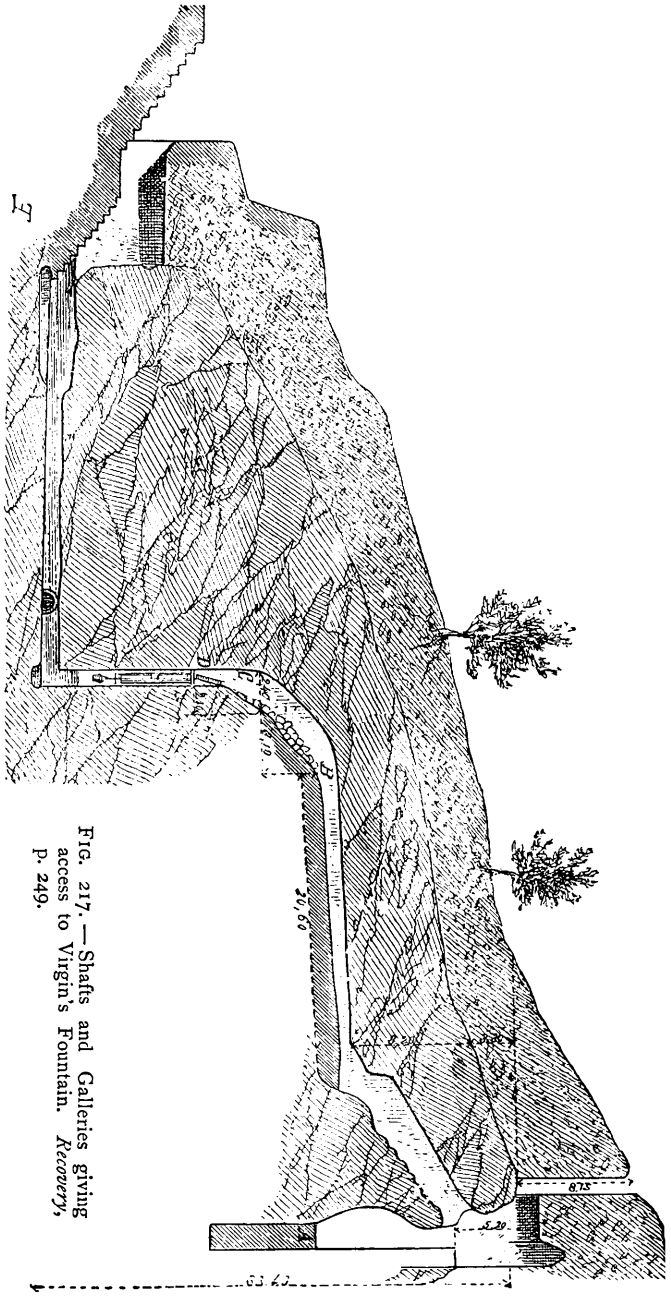


FIG. 217.—Shafts and Galleries giving access to Virgin's Fountain. *Recovery*, p. 249.

yield a total length of 630 metres. It is possible, however, that a shorter metre, answering to the Egyptian measure, may have been used, or that it was a mere eye-estimate, a round number being given much above reality, from incorrectness of eye or eagerness to make the work they had accomplished seem more important. A translation of the Siloam tablet, by Professor W. Wright, was published in the "Proceedings" of the *Soc. Bib. Archæ.*, iv. p. 68, with an admirable illustration from the cast, by the secretary, M. H. Rylands.

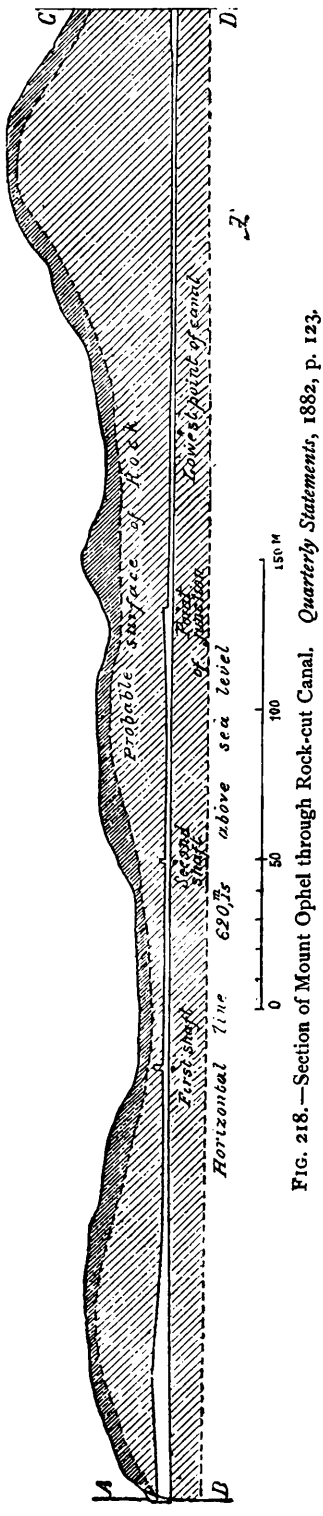


FIG. 218.—Section of Mount Ophel through Rock-cut Canal. *Quarterly Statements*, 1882, p. 123.

in the centre, like the miners of the Mont Cenis tunnel.

Without the mariner's compass to guide them, or adequate knowledge for taking plans, elevations, sections, etc., they rapidly diverged to one side (Fig. 216). The men from the Siloam end became aware that they had not been going straight; as here the rocky crust overhead was not thick, they made a shaft up to the surface, when they perceived that they had rapidly drifted to the east (Fig. 218). After having ascertained this they ran straight for some time, following the rock contour, or perhaps a particular seam of rock.

One might be inclined to think that some 70 metres further they again began to make another shaft, but that the difficulty of getting to the crest of the hill, which here is of considerable height, caused them to leave it unfinished. This may also have been due to the sound of the picks in the other tunnel, which was likely to be heard at a great distance through the soft strata; but even then their course betrays great uncertainty; and at the points *i*, *h*, *g* (Fig. 219), certain "set backs" in the walls of the passage indicate sudden change of direction on the part of the excavators. In the directions which are indicated by the headings at *a* and *f*, the two gangs were working almost parallel one to the other, and might have passed each other without joining, having a thickness of seven feet of rock between—those in the up-stream tunnel being

to the east of those in the down-stream canal. The shape of the cutting at the point *d* evidences complete change of axis, and that the excavator, after leaving the false headings *a*, *b*, *c*, began to widen the tunnel on his right. The small buttress thus left reveals the method of excavation of the channel (Fig. 219, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.)

It may be considered certain that the place of junction was at the point *e* (Fig. 219) where, at the section and cross section, a sudden difference of level in the roof of the tunnel may be seen in plan (Fig. 219) at transverse section A B (Fig. 221).

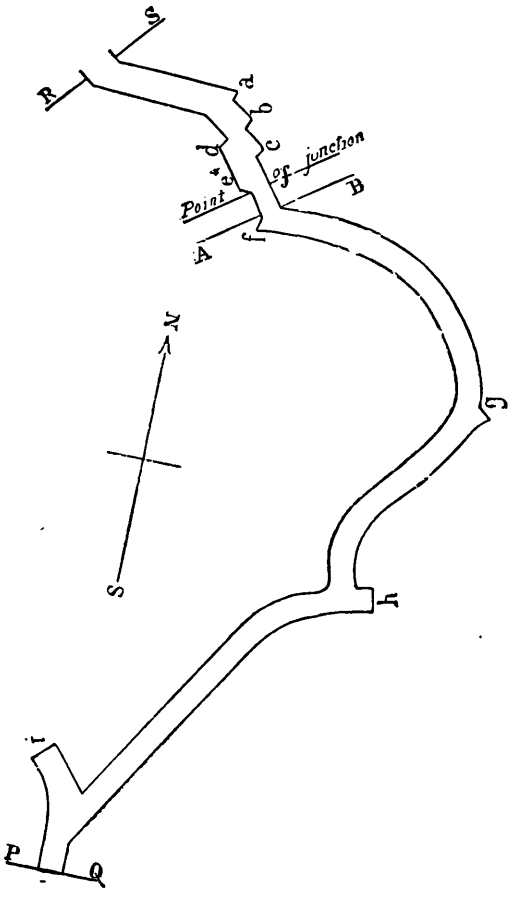


FIG. 219.—Plan of Central Portion of Canal. *Quarterly Statements*, 1882, p. 123.

What confirms this view, says Conder, from whom we have borrowed, is that by examining the walls of the canal, it will be seen that south of the line A B the excavation points up-stream, proved by the sidings, whilst north of the same line, the set backs point down channel. It was at point *e*, therefore, that the two gangs working separately at the lower and upper tunnel, were able to shake hands through the aperture made in the wall 1 m. 60 high. There was a little difference of level (¾ of a cubit) between the twin channels at the place of junction, which had to be smoothed away before the water could flow in easily. On either side of this point, too, the roof becomes so low that, in order to proceed, it is necessary to crawl on all fours.

The general impression left from examination of the tunnel is that it was the work of a people whose engineering was in its

infancy. Thus the distance, in a straight line from the "Pool"[1] to the Virgin's Fountain, is only 335 metres, but the aqueduct measures 533. It seems strange that when communications were established, they should not have sought to make the height of the tunnel uniform, so as to facilitate its being kept free and in good repair, which must have been difficult at all times. It may be explained, perhaps, that the men, weary with the arduous work, mostly performed in an uncomfortable position, as soon as they beheld the glittering water flowing out to the smaller pool, were satisfied to rest from their labour, leaving to others the task of perfecting the excavation, which from some cause or other was never accomplished.

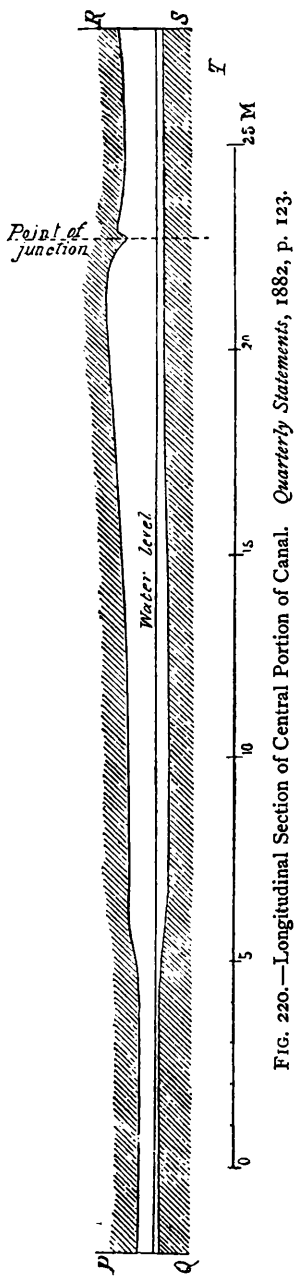


FIG. 220.—Longitudinal Section of Central Portion of Canal. *Quarterly Statements*, 1882, p. 123.

The difference of level in the bed of the channel is so slight (30 c) that we must suppose the excavators to have been possessed with some kind of test answering to our air level. The multitudinous small bends and other irregularities in the course of the aqueduct, show that the miners were unacquainted with accurate instruments. The walls are covered up to three feet with a thin coating of red cement, very hard, with a large percentage of pounded pottery. Above this, the cracks and holes in the rock are filled in with the same compound; curious enough, the fellahîn use it in the present day for lining cisterns.

Such rock-cut canals abound in Jerusalem. Besides that running at the bottom of the Tyropœon, already referred

[1] The larger pool now dry, was connected with the smaller, and probably excavated at the same time as the aqueduct to receive the greater volume of water (2 *Kings* xx. 20). See also *Neh.* ii. 16.

to, Sir C. Warren examined the Kedron passage which starts west of Bîr-Eyûb, following the direction of the valley,[1] with a cistern for receiving the outflow of the duct, and steps leading down to it. It is loftier and wider than the more important Siloam tunnel, a tall man being able to walk erect in it, but after a run of 600 m. it suddenly stops short. Whether this was an aqueduct or sewer to carry the refuse of the city as far out as possible, has not been ascertained. As gallery, cistern, and steps are all excavated in the solid rock, without inscription or special features, it is not easy to fix a date, except that the mode of construction points to Punic-Jewish excavators. Its mean height is 2 m., and its width averages from 1 m. 10 c. to 1 m. 20 c.

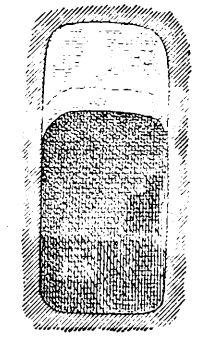


FIG. 221.—Transverse Section of Canal through A B. *Quarterly Statements*, 1882, p. 123.

We incline to think that the so-called pools of Solomon belong to a late period. No passing allusion is to be found in the Bible as to water having been brought from a considerable distance to Jerusalem under the kings; whilst Josephus' statement that Pontius Pilate conveyed waters to the city over a space of 200 stadia, must be understood to mean that he repaired the aqueducts, thus increasing the volume of water, to which he may have added a more inland spring.[2] To have excavated the whole system of cisterns and the three channels on different levels, to collect the outflow of all the head sources found south of Bethlehem, distributing them in the various quarters of the city, would have been impossible for one man alone, notably Pontius Pilate, whose reign was so often disturbed by the seditions of the Jews. The older work of the vaults or roofs, exhibits well-dressed stones like those at the gates of the haram enclosure, making it probable that these aqueducts were commenced by the Asmonæans, and completed by Herod or some Roman governor.

Rock-hewn canals have been recognized in other parts of Palestine, as at Askar, near Shechem, and at Anîm, Lejjûn, etc.;

[1] *Recovery*, pp. 257–264.

[2] If we suppose the 400 stadia, specified a little further with regard to these aqueducts, to comprise the windings along the hills on to Jerusalem, the distance, far from being overstated, would be well within reality.

whilst the road between Khan-Minyeh and Tell-Hum is an ancient canal cut in the solid rock, which in former times conveyed the waters from Aîn-el-Tabighah to the plain stretching below, extolled by Josephus for its fertility (Fig. 222).[1]

Throughout Syria are grottoes partly hewn, with ramps and passages, spacious enough to shelter families with all their belongings. Sometimes, as at Arak-el-Emir, and at Arbela, near Lake Genezareth, these excavations were almost entirely rock-cut, consisting of vast stables with mangers for a hundred horses, a treasury, a living house, granaries, and cisterns. They were veritable fortresses, having an enclosure at a somewhat lower level than the building itself, with a kind of dam and retaining wall; chambers at different levels, inner stairways, and loopholes in one of the walls, evidently a pigeon-house, to supply the larder of these troglodytes.[2]

This rupesque architecture bears witness to the patient industry and spirit of enterprise of the people who devised it, albeit still in the stage when useful rather than fine proportions and beauty of aspect are considered.

The answer to the question as to whether the Israelites showed any aptitude for plastic creations must be sought in another place; but we may even now formulate the opinion that those nations alone who delight in the representation of the human form, stamping it with their own individuality, deserve to be called inborn artists.

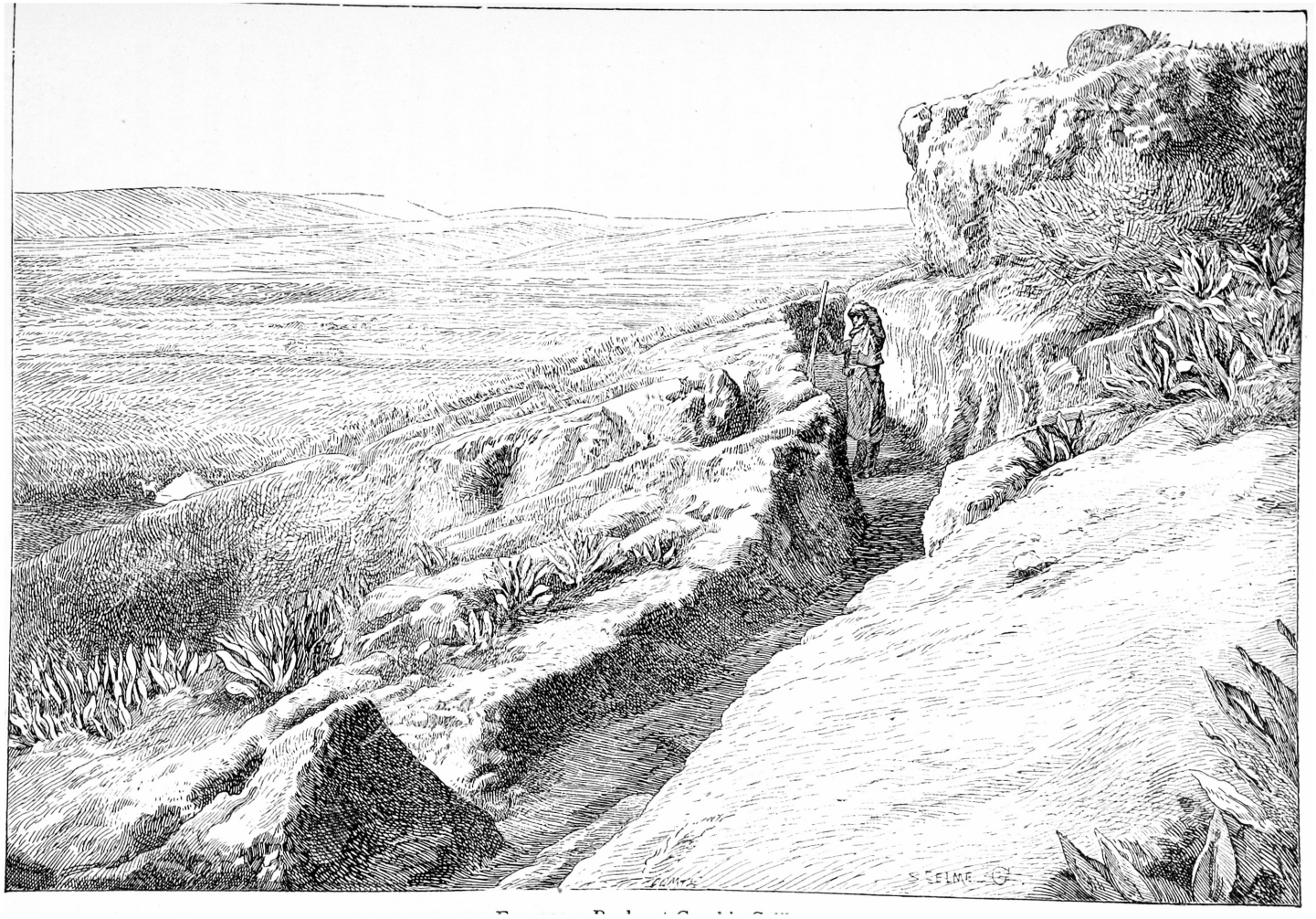
§ 4.—*Sculpture.*

We tried in a former chapter to give some idea of the primitive creed of the Hebrews, and of their crude symbols of the deity; whether menhirs,[3] bætuli, cippi, cones, poles, springs, rivers, mountains and the like, whose significance was modified according to position and locality.

[1] *Ant. Bell. Jud.*, XVIII. iii. 2. See also *Quarterly Statements*, pp. 71, 72, 1875.

[2] On the grottoes of Arak-el-Emir, see DE VOGUÉ, *Le Temple*, pp. 38, 39, Plate XXXV.; about Arbela, JOSEPHUS, *Bell. Jud.*, I. xvi. 2–4, and *Life of Josephus*, § 37; LORTET, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, pp. 517–522.

[3] Consult STADE, *Geschichte*, tom. i. pp. 449–459, on the forms of fetishism to be read between the lines in the Old Testament, as well as the many interpretations of the word *asherah*, "pole"—whose verbal root primitively signified to plant, cut, more appropriate to a pole than an idol; whilst metzebab, menhir, witness, is derived from the root *yatzeb*, "to raise," "set up."



These rude symbols had been all-sufficient to the nomadic tribes, but ceased to satisfy them as soon as the conditions of a settled life brought them in touch with people possessed of a higher grade of civilization and, as a natural consequence, of a more spiritual religion, whose gods assumed defined shapes, and were depicted under animal or human forms. They, too, wished to have a god that might walk before them; and the molten calf was made. It was a type common to all the known nations of the ancient world. The man-headed bull of Assyria, the apis of Egypt, Baal apis of Phœnicia, Zeus transformed into a bull; *i.e.* the Oriental myth migrating to Europe, are familiar instances of this widely diffused cultus, and symbolic signification.

Perhaps the first step towards this transformism is to be seen in the horns about the altar; evidently viewed as the emblem of the figure, since that was always the part seized by the suppliant (Fig. 207).[1] If in Exodus the honours rendered to the golden calf made by Aaron are described as an idolatrous practice, it proves none the less that when the Mosaic books were written, the cult was believed to go back to remote antiquity, even by those who were loudest in reprobating it.[2]

Sundry passages formally attest that under the kings, gold-plated bulls or calves, and images, were the object of worship in multitudinous sanctuaries, be it in Samaria, at Bethel, or Dan—(respecting the molten calf at Dan having been possessed of a bull's head, see former chapter, 1 *Kings* xii. 28, and *Judges* xviii. —*Hosea* viii. 6; x. 5; 2 *Kings* x. 29), whilst rude figures of the same nature, probably made of baser materials—the bāmōth being the most conspicuous example—were to be seen on every mound or hill-top.

We find no reference in the Bible as to Jehovah[3] having been worshipped at Jerusalem under the form of a bull; for here the ark with its mysterious symbol occupied the place of honour in the temple; and the serpent was the only image displayed and adored. The Mosaic tradition which was attached to the latter accounted for its presence in the sanctuary (*Numb.* xxi. 9).

[1] STADE, *loc. cit.*, p. 465. *Amos* ii. 14. [2] *Exod.* xxxii.

[3] The modern transliteration, "Iahveh," occurs throughout in the French text. Partly, however, because the work, in its English garb, is intended for the general reader, partly for the sake of early associations, I have adhered to the old familiar name of Jehovah.—ED.

Thus the calf of Dan, the serpent in favour at Jerusalem, were both emblems of Iahveh, and their images the object of a cultus which in a certain measure partook of a national character.[1]

In most of the high places, and even in the temple of Jerusalem, the images under notice were associated with a thousand Syrian gods and goddesses; all the local Baālîm and Ashtoreths (who had a generic name like the Madonnas of Spain and Italy)—Baal was sun-god, master, lord, in whose honour were raised tall cippi, obelisks, Khammanīm, as emblem of solar rays, tongues of fire;[2] whilst the prophets tell us that Jewish women had a special veneration for the crescent moon, Astarte, whose rites they continued to perform in the exile.[3] Then, too, there was Moloch, to whom children were frequently sacrificed—passed through fire, in the Hinnom Valley, in order to propitiate him.[4] There were times in Jewish history when these alien gods were nigh to displacing Jehovah;[5] or at least reducing Him to the proportions of a local deity; and they would undoubtedly have prevailed but for the energetic action of the prophets.

Under the tent, in the rustic cottage, or the more pretentious town residence, Jehovah ran even greater risk than in the primitive sanctuaries; for here woman's influence was more deeply felt than in the common and collective life of the Syrian waste. Marriages with Canaanite, Hittite, Moabite, or Phœnician women were frequent among the Hebrews down to the exile. As a natural consequence, they imported in their new homes, along with their idols and amulets, the simple teachings they had learnt at their mother's knee; and these in their turn they transferred to their children. Every household, before and after the monarchy,

[1] If we suppose this to have been a winged serpent, of the nature of those met in Egyptian hypogea, we should have to regard it as having furnished the first outline of those sārāfs or seraphim which Isaiah puts around the throne of Jehovah, in exactly the same position as the kerūbs of Ezekiel. Hence sārāfs and seraphim would have been derived from the most familiar symbols of Jehovah: *i.e.* kerūb from bull, sārāf from serpent. Whatever may be the truth, the Hebrew word sārāf is equivalent to serpent in all cases.

[2] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. p. 121. *Isa.* xvii. 8.

[3] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. p. 68. [4] *Jer.* vii. 18; xliv. 15–25.

[5] 1 *Kings* xi. 7; 2 *Kings* xxiii. 37, 39; *Jer.* xxiii. 35; *Levit.* xviii. 21; 2 *Chron.* xxvii. 3; *Ezech.* xxiii. 37, 39. Most passages having reference to these cults were carefully selected and submitted to the Protestant School of Theology in Paris by Gédéon Jaulmes, 1885—entitled *L'Idolâtrie dans le royaume de Juda depuis la réforme d'Ezéchias* (in 8° 70 pages).

had their *teraphim*, "domestic gods," the penates of the Semitic races; which, in the black tent or the structural dwelling, were always found suspended against the wall. In the latter, a niche or small temple commensurate with the importance or taste of the owner, was doubtless provided.

Jewish antiquities, for obvious reasons, have so completely disappeared, that we cannot hope to come some day upon monuments in which teraphim sculptured, painted, or carved have been preserved. Nevertheless some faint idea may be formed of them, from passages scattered up and down the Old Testament. We incidentally gather in Genesis (xxxi. 20–35) and 1 Samuel (xix. 11–17) that not all were on the same pattern or of the same dimensions. Nowhere is their material specified; but the weight of stone makes it improbable that it was selected to sculpture teraphim, notably in those early days of semi-nomadic life.[1] Small figures, such as Rachel concealed from her father, may have been of clay; but those of natural size, such as that used by Michal to represent David, imply a degree of skill in the potter, which no data justify us to ascribe to the Hebrews of that epoch. It is probable that teraphim, albeit of more archaic make, were mostly of sycamore wood, like the statues of a similar nature found in Egyptian tombs. This would coincide with the texts having reference to Canaanite images, which are stated to have been cut to pieces and burnt (*Deut.* vii. 5; xii. 3). Here and there the parts exposed, as the hands and face, were tinted or picked out with gold, and the body arrayed more or less sumptuously, something after the fashion of Greek eikons in the present day.[2]

Idols were sometimes of gold, silver, or bronze, of Punic fabrication, sold by hawkers, who penetrated everywhere, offering their services to those who were willing to pay for them. From them the Israelites learnt something of their craft, and though unable to produce art-objects, they could doubtless manufacture inferior pieces for the ordinary purposes of their simple needs. Then, too, mention should be made of molten images, such as Micah placed in his house (*Judg.* xviii. 1–5; *Exod.* xx. 23; xxxiii. 4; *Numb.* xxxiii. 52). But not every one was able to spare 200 shekels of

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 516, 517; *Ibid.*, tom. i. pp. 640–644.

[2] The rich dress of the idols is specified in Isaiah (xxx. 22), where also occur the terms *suppiu*, *appūddāh*, "applied," "covered." Such figures were of the nature of Greek περίχρυσα, περίαργυρα (see STADE, *Geschichte*, tom. i. p. 467).

silver towards an image; consequently the rank and file were obliged to put up with teraphim of baked or sun-dried clay; such as Phœnicia sowed broadcast in the Mediterranean basin. We are inclined to regard the annexed woodcut (Fig. 223), reproduced from a terra-cotta unearthed at Gezer,[1] as a Jewish idol of a local Ashtoreth. It represents a nude figure, her arm folded under the breast, with the turreted headdress so often seen on the Sidonian coins of this goddess. The general type and technique betray a Punic hand; making it probable that it was imported from a city on the coast.



FIG. 223.—Small Clay Figure.

One monument of doubtful origin is not sufficient to enable us to say whether the teraphim were distinguished by any special feature; since we are wholly without data upon the progressive march of the plastic arts of the Hebrews;[2] nor is our knowledge a whit better respecting the ephod. This had evidently two distinct meanings: sometimes it was applied to the surplice of the priest;[3] at other times it indicated some object which might be held, or hung, or used to consult Iahveh. We read that Abiathar fled from Nod, carrying in his hand the ephod (1 *Sam.* xxiii. 6), just as a Roman priest would in a similar case take with him the host. Was the ephod, as has been conjectured, a small box which contained twin dice, Urim and Tummin?[4] and if so what was its shape? Are we justified to conceive it as a small casket, the emblem of Tanit, with a top handle to facilitate its being carried? or was its chief ornament like the winged sphere so widely diffused in the Nile and the Tigris Valleys, and which we find on Jewish seals? Unless unexpected discoveries should be made, great uncertainty must continue to surround the subject. One thing is certain, that the

[1] *Palestine Exploration Fund, Memoirs*, tom. ii. p. 439.

[2] As in Greece the *xoanon* was gradually disengaged from the trunk of a tree to form a figure, so with the Hebrews the *asherah*, "pole," standing by the altar yielded the first rudimentary image, with face and limbs barely outlined, and dressed, as a certain class of Punic bætuli, seen on coins and votive stelas (*Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 14–16, 192, Fig. 232).

[3] *Sam.* xxii. 18.

[4] STADE, *Geschichte*, tom. i. pp. 471, 472. DE SAULCY, "Le Costume Sacerdotal chez les Juifs" (*Revue Arch.*, tom. xx. pp. 104–110).

ephod was looked upon as one of the most valuable badges of priesthood, as an indispensable instrument between Iah and his people. When Hosea depicts in sombre colours the abasement and ruin that will overtake the Israelites in punishment for their backslidings, he exclaims: "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim" (iii. 4).

The points of touch established by the prophet between the ephod and the teraphim, lead to the inference that they both partook, more or less, of the nature of those images so vigorously proscribed by the successors of Hosea only a short century later. Whatever their shape, they were certainly not better than the rude idols met with in the Ægean Sea, be it at Mycenæ or Tiryns; but whilst from such small beginnings Greek sculpture attained its highest expression, that of the Canaanites and the Hebrews remained at a standstill. The former had no individual civilization; as to the latter, when their genius expanded, and could have soared into the domain of plastic arts, it was forced back by the peculiar bias of their religious tenets.

Until the exile, and long afterwards, wooden, clay, and metal teraphim continued to be made, albeit denounced and destroyed by kings like Hezekiah and Josiah; when those who made a living by them only worked by stealth like malefactors.

The contrast between almost divine honours rendered to artists in Hellas, and the animadversions levelled against them by the spiritual leaders of Jerusalem, is sufficient reason why all the arts should have flourished in the former instance, and have languished, or rather should have been stamped out in the latter.[1]

§ 5.—*Seals.*

A nation, whose sculpture never progressed beyond the first stage, cannot be expected to have been more advanced in the domain of glyptic art, which is wholly dependent on the former for its types and composition. The seal, owing no doubt to its convenient size and practical use, was adopted by all the well-

[1] *Jer.* li. 17, 18: "Every man is brutish by his knowledge; every founder is confounded by the graven image: for his molten image is falsehood, and there is no breath in them. They are vanity . . ."

known nations of antiquity at a remote period. Its use was so universal when the Book of Genesis was written, that Judah is represented giving up to Tamar his staff, bracelets, and signet, as pledges (xxxviii. 18); whilst in Exodus semi-precious stones, "pietre dure," graven with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, set in gold and ouched with chains of the same shining metal, are distributed about the breast and shoulders of Aaron's robe. "The stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel . . . like the engravings of a signet" (*Exod.* xxviii. 9, 21). The last words show that at the time of the recension of the book, the Israelites were acquainted with the art of cutting stone, and that no one, whatever his profession, was seen without a seal about his neck.[1]

Not only at head centres, as Jerusalem and Samaria, but in every town, were doubtless shops in the various bazaars, where carnelian, hematite, jasper, and onyx[2] were cut to the required shape; symbols and ornaments having been previously prepared, so that the buyer had only to wait the time necessary to have his name engraved. A handicraft which is the monopoly of the few is sure to pay well; it is not to be supposed, therefore, that the Israelites would be backward in trying to become proficient in an art which promised so well, albeit they could not hope to displace the Phœnicians, whose multitudinous workshops turned out intaglios, both on stone and on tinted or figured glass paste, in such quantities and at so moderate a price as to be within the means of the humblest; to them the art in all its minute and intricate delicacy was an open book and child's play. People of the better classes, desirous that their seals should be as carefully wrought as those of their Punic neighbours, naturally turned to them, so that even when native craftsmen had begun to compete with more or less success with their teachers, these continued to be the fashion and to furnish models.[3]

There is a certain class of monuments that have been described

[1] See DE SAULCY, "Recherches sur le Costume Sacerdotal chez les Juifs" (*Revue Arch.*), n. s. tom. xx. p. 115, where a detailed account of the seal and the gems used in its fabrication will be found.

[2] The verses (*Exod.* xxviii. 17–20) contain a whole list of stones then known; some, however, have not been identified, owing probably to inadequate knowledge on the part of the translator.

[3] A number of intaglios, which were apparently seals made for Jews, will be found in *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii., Figs. 423, 450, 451.

as "Jewish intaglios," but we venture to say that they do not justify a similar classification, either in form, fabrication, characteristics, or ornament. They consist generally of a cone, or ellipsoid, or modifications of these; shapes, it is needless to say, adopted betimes by the Phœnicians as more convenient than the cylinder or the scarab. As to execution, we find in full facility without nobility, and the commonplace dexterity which are the distinctive marks of all Punic industrial productions; whilst subject and ornament—when they occur in the field of the signet—never transgress beyond the usual Phœnician type.[1] On the other hand, those who hold them as Jewish have not always brought to bear sufficient acumen in respect to the mode of composition of theophore names upon which they chiefly rely for their theory. We are quite willing to admit that seals, where one of the proper names is compounded of Jehovah, were wrought by or for Israelites; for example, Jehu, Joash, Jonathan, Ahiah, or Eliadah, El, Elohim. But the question is more difficult of solution when the name is formed with Baal, as Eshbaal, Abimelech, Jerubbaal, etc., which although found in the Bible and borne by Jews of position, are common to all Semitic races, and might with equal propriety have belonged to Sidonians and Canaanites, as to Jews inhabiting Jerusalem or any other part of Palestine.[2] With all these restrictions, we may accept as unreservedly "Jewish," a number of intaglios with inscriptions in old Hebrew characters, which may be examined in all public and private collections. The letters of the oldest Hebrew inscriptions are akin to Punic characters; nevertheless an adept detects certain twists and curves in the latter, as well as in Cypriote writing, which are absent from the somewhat more rigid handwriting of the scribes of the Jordan Valley. This may perhaps be accounted for by difference of climate, which in a comparatively temperate zone, as Judæa, is apt to stiffen the muscles, and is not conducive to undulating forms, hence it will be seen that the locality where the piece was unearthed is important and deserves to be duly considered.

In Judæa, as in Phœnicia, plain seals with nothing but the name

[1] See DE VOGUÉ'S *Mélanges d'Arch. Orientale*, chapter on "Intailles à Légendes Sémetiques," in-8°, 1878, and MENANT, *Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale*, pp. 227–231, Pt. II., 1886.

[2] Names such as Nahun, Menahemeth, Uzzia, Akbor, and the like, might belong with equal fitness to Phœnicians or Jews.

engraved upon them are of frequent occurrence; for instance, "Of Obadiāhū, servant of the king" (Figs. 224 and 225).[1] It is to be regretted that the same Obadiāhū neglected to tell us the name of the prince under whom he served. We might then, perhaps, have identified him with Achab's overseer, who played no small part in the traditions relating to Elijah (1 *Kings* xviii. 3). However that may be, the seal of that official must have closely resembled ours, for the inscription arranged in two lines is archaic enough to be carried back to that remote epoch.[2]

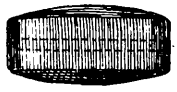


FIG. 224.—Seal of Obadiāhū. Actual shape of stone.



FIG. 225.—Seal of Obadiāhū, engraved side.

Seals as a rule are not as plain as that of Obadiāhū, but exhibit ornament and figures side by side with the name and quality of the owner. Such would be the two annexed woodcuts from Jerusalem (Figs. 226 and 227), one consisting of a very hard siliceous stone convex and oval in shape, with a Phœnician palmette engraved with rare perfection above the legend: "Of Hananiāhū, son of Akbor," whilst on the next stone a ring of poppies or pomegranates surrounds the lettering, "Of Hānāniāhū, son of Azariāhū."[3]



FIG. 226.—Seal of Hananiāhū.



FIG. 227.—Seal of Hananiāhū.

Nevertheless they did not always keep to subjects, which from their essentially ornamental character could in no wise give umbrage to the most rigid rigorist. Here, for example, is an oval seal, held by Longperier to be of Jewish origin.[4] On the obverse stands a male figure, staff in hand, in an attitude of worship. His dress, which falls on the ankles leaving the upper part of the body

[1] Figures and observations are borrowed from M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, "Le Sceau d'Obadyahou, fonctionnaire royal Israélite" (*Recueil d'Archélogie Orientale*, fasc. 1, 1885, Ernest Lerout, pp. 33–38).

This is applicable to the hematite seal picked up by Sir C. Warren at the south-east angle of the haram, at a depth of eight metres. The inscription is in two lines, and reads as follows: "Haggai, son of Shebaniah" (*The Recovery*, pp. 123, 128 and 493, where it is reproduced).

[3] CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Sceaux et cachets Israélites, Syriens et Phéniciens*, 1882, 8° extrait from *Journal Asiatique*, No. 1. *Ibid.*, No. 2.

[4] DE LONGPERIER, *Œuvres*, tom. i. pp. 198, 199.

uncovered, recalls that of an Egyptian page. His name, "Shebaniah," forms a line behind him (Fig. 228). On the reverse the

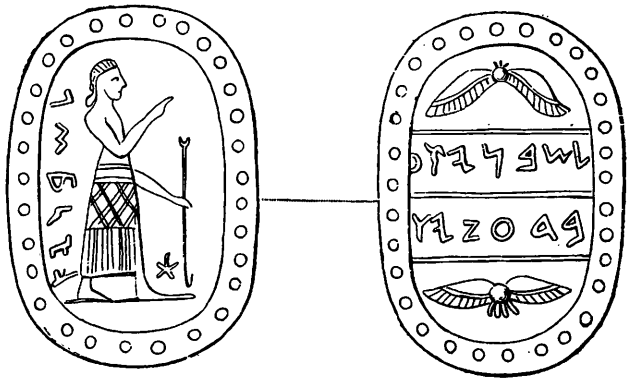


FIG. 228.—Seal of Shebaniah, double actual size. Sapphirine carnelian.

lettering which intervenes between the winged discs is more explicit, and reads thus: "Of Shebaniah, son of Uzziyyah." As will be observed here, the emblem is strictly Phœnician in character; sometimes however a bull, the popular representation of Jehovah in early days, is seen between the inscribed letters: "Of Shemāyāhū, son of Azāryāhū" (Fig. 229).[1] In Fig. 230, likewise described by De Vogué as of Jewish origin, the inscription: "Of Naāthanyāhū son of Abadiāhū," interposes between two wild goats. This animal, it is well known, was sacred to the great Syrian goddess, in her manifestation of Anath or Anahith (Fig. 230).[2] Another stone of equally marked pagan features represents a deity with the characteristic headdress of Hathor, kneeling on a lotus flower,[3] the subject is from the Nile Valley, but in this and the next piece, figuring a winged sphinx, hawk-headed, the workmanship betrays a Punic hand at the service of an Israelite, proved by the lettering,



FIG. 229.—Seal of Shemāyāhū. Chalcedon cone.



FIG. 230.—Seal of Naāthanyāhū. Agate cone.

[1] DE VOGUÉ, *Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 131.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 133. *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. Fig. 451, where a goat and kid are figured upon a conoid amethyst from Saida (Sidon), now in the Louvre, with inscription, "To Ahnabad." Ledrain, who described it, places it among Jewish intaglios.

[3] *Ibid.*, Fig. 450.

which reads as follows: "Of Abiyyūh, servant of Uzziū." As final specimen of this class of monuments we will cite a scarabœoïd of red agate, which was presented by De Sarzec to the Louvre along with Chaldæan antiquities. Although it was recovered in Mesopotamia, there is no doubt as to its having been manufactured by a Phœnician artificer. It portrays a god with the attributes that we sometimes see about Horus, consisting of two sets of wings and a serpent in either hand. A double horn or crescent, with a central solar disc, and a snake depending on each side, are about his head, whilst near the feet the divine symbol, the "eye of Osiris," is repeated twice. The inscription, "Baalnaathan," whom Baal gives, *i.e.* given by Baal, exactly corresponds with "Jonathan," whom Jehovah gives, with this difference that in the latter Iah-Jehovah, Iaveh, is replaced by Baal. Baalnaathan may have been one of those Israelites who, forsaking the national god, had embraced the Syrian cult. However that may be, it does not apply to the owners of the other figured seals, whose appellations could only have been chosen by Jehovah-fearing parents, albeit for reasons adduced above, figured emblems of a nature severely reprobated by contemporary prophets (8th, 7th, and 6th centuries A.C.) are seen side by side with the inscriptions.[1] This fact alone would be sufficient proof, had we not already demonstrated it, that despite the anathemas poured forth against idolatry, despite the iconoclastic zeal of some kings, the bulk of the people, until the return from Babylonia, viewed images with no less favour than their neighbours; for the prescriptions of the decalogue were not laid to heart except by the chosen few. These, thanks to the elevation of their ideas, and the depth of their convictions, had in the end their tenets universally acknowledged.[2]



FIG. 231. — Seal of Baalnaathan.



FIG. 232. — Moabite Intaglio. DE VOGUÉ, *Melanges*, p. 89.

[1] It is the opinion of Hebrew scholars best qualified to pronounce upon the question. The selection of names, the shape of the letters, all point to Punic influence during the dual kingdom, the final overthrow, and the dispersion into exile.

[2] The presumption that the seal engraved "Baalnaathan" may have been the property of a Jew, is based upon the fact that although naathan has the same significance as "liathon," the verbs which these words represent were not convertible in the Hebrew or Punic dialects. Hence a Phœnician would have used "liathon" and

The objects that we have just described were probably tolerated on account of their characterless appearance; the form being too small to be easily read, was not deemed prejudicial to the true God; it was impressed moreover on clay or wax, and awoke no misgivings in the hearts of the true worshippers of Jehovah. Until the reform initiated by the prophets reached its logical conclusion, tearing up from the roots time-honoured customs and usages, figures and emblems graven on seals appeared doubtless innocuous. Many an Israelite who would have died rather than sacrifice to Moloch or Ashtoreth, selected at a dealer, without a qualm of conscience, a signet having a sphinx or winged disc exquisitely outlined, with which his name and appellations would be associated; the former being considered purely decorative.

§ 6.—*Painting.*

Colour helps with form to give the appearance of life to plastic works; hence the prophets and their acolytes condemned it on the same lines as sculpture; and as a natural consequence it may be said to have had no existence. Were data required to prove our assertion, they would be found in the Hebrew language itself, which has no equivalents for painter, painting, to paint. The word *chakak* used by Ezekiel respecting the images on the walls of the temple, in high favour with the daughters of Judah, signifies "to cut," "to engrave."

Colour, implied by the word *chakakkin bessassar*, was no doubt added to the form, which was raised or sunk to bring out details of dress. As this is the only instance of a mention of this nature in the Old Testament, we may reasonably suppose that it was suggested to the seer by the Assyrian and Chaldæan monuments similarly enriched, which he beheld everywhere around him.[1]

The Israelites do not seem to have had a deep sense for colour; their whole range being confined to white, black, green, and red;

have been called Baaliāthon, but never Baalnaathon. This single example shows the danger of classifying an engraved stone without due consideration or technical knowledge. But whenever a special Syrian god is compounded with a proper name, as "Of Kamosiekhi" (formed with the Moabite Kamos), we need not feel any hesitation in setting down the seal to the particular locality or people where the god was honoured.

[1] *Ezek.* xxiii. 14; Cf. viii. 10. Figures of the same nature are specified, but no indication of colours occurs.

to which should be added the Tyrian purple, or "murex," as the Bible has it, from the shell which produced it. We have stated that when the compiler of Exodus wished to convey the idea of a rich deep blue tint, he named the gem known to all his readers for its charming hue: "It formed a paved work of sapphire stones under the feet of the God of Israel, like the body of heaven in his clearness" (*Exod.* xxiv. 10).

§ 7.—*Industrial Arts.*

The fulminating utterances of the prophet, the prohibitory rules of the Mosaic law, arrested the march of the major arts of painting and sculpture, and were no less unfavourable to the minor or art industries. Because these, as they do not create, have naturally naught to draw from, but as soon as they emerge from the lowest grade take their inspirations from models yielded and sanctioned by statuary, and expand under the refining influence and asthetic feeling called forth by the cunning art of the sculptor, when the latter has imbued the living form with truth and originality.

The rural populations of Palestine were prone to yearn after and wish back the days of their nomadic existence. In this mood their industry remained pretty much what it had been in the wilderness; and was not to be named alongside of that of their neighbours the Philistines and the Phœnicians, who at a very early period had been schooled in the workshops of Egypt. Nowhere was Hebrew deficiency more conspicuous than in the art of working metals. Lack of this industry, we may be sure, was no small factor in the long series of defeats which seemed at one time to condemn the Israelites to become the bondsmen of the Philistines, until David appeared on the stage and retrieved their fortunes. We read that Goliath, in his struggle against David, wore brass leggings answering to the Homeric κνημίδες; this would imply that the Philistine champion was armed *cap-a-pied*, as afterwards the Greek hoplite (1 *Sam.* xvii. 5–7). We may infer from the texts that seem to have preserved more faithfully the memory of olden times, that for generations after they had been in the enjoyment of a settled life, the Hebrews were still strangers to methods and usages which presuppose long acquaintance with them. In an exaggerated form, perhaps, albeit with a large grain of truth, this is formally stated in Samuel: "And there was no smith found throughout the land

of all Israel: for the Philistines said, lest the Hebrews make them swords or spears" (1 *Sam.* xiii. 19–21).

Similar expressions should not be taken too literally; but only as serving to convey a picture of the degraded state into which Israel was sunk at the beginning of Saul's reign. Had there been no smiths, it is not easy to see how weapons could have been procured—scarcely from the Philistines—or how kept in repair during the long struggle against the Canaanites, whom they finally overthrew. Did we not know that the Jews were acquainted with iron, "barzel," we might infer as much from the tradition attaching to Tubal Cain, whom every 'smithy' could claim as an ancestor. The metal was in all likelihood brought in very early days to the Jordan Valley, by caravans from Mesopotamia. Its use, however, was exceedingly restricted, and before David formed no part of defensive or decorative works; whilst iron chariots did not come into use until the succeeding reign; so that bronze, "nechoseth," kept its repute till long afterwards. We read that the whole armour of Goliath was of brass; including the bow, although not specified (2 *Sam.* xxii. 35)[1]; the spear alone being iron pointed. We may safely conclude, therefore, that swords, daggers, cutlasses and so forth, were of the same metal, even though the text is silent in regard to them. Bronze was comparatively easy to procure, but none the less accounted one of the precious metals, and as taking rank next after gold and silver, as may be inferred from the text (2 *Sam.* viii. 8, 10). Nor were these metals confined to the fabrication of tools, weapons, and domestic utensils; they also entered into ornament, both personal and of a more general character. The taste for ornament is as old as man himself. We find it among the rudest tribes, whilst sundry passages in the Pentateuch bear witness to its wide diffusion under the tent; which doubtless kept pace with the improved conditions of the community. The old Semites, even as their descendants at the present day, took great pleasure in covering themselves and their favourite steeds with ornamented pieces of jewellery. Their women, like those of other climes, wore ear pendants and necklaces, formed by crescents, emblem of Ashtoreth, or coloured beads; sometimes, too, a large gold or silver coin or plaque depended from the neck by a small chain, or adorned the waist. Bracelets made of inferior

[1] There seems to be a slight oversight here; for the text reads thus: "He teaches my hand to war; so that a 'bow of steel' is broken into my arms."—TRANSLATOR.

silver or glass, brass or silver rings, and anklets were the principal ornaments.[1] We shall not attempt to describe the endless trinkets specified in the Bible, but wish to say a word respecting the "nezem," or nose jewel, which is certainly not a modern product, since we find it among the first presents given to Rebecca by Abraham's servant (*Gen.* xxiv. 22, 47).[2] There is some uncertainty as to whether it was a ring like that of the Turkish women of Anatolia, or the small button "khergeh" studded with one or more stones of the Damascene ladies; which is about the size of an ordinary shirt stud (Fig. 233).[3] The ornaments of the camels of the Midianite kings were doubtless of gold, else Gideon would scarcely have taken the trouble to carry them off. It is just possible that there is some exaggeration in the enormous quantity of objects stated to have been seized by the Israelites in their affrays against their neighbours. At the same time, the chronicler would scarcely have made the assertion had it been violently opposed to verisimilitude, and had there been no real foundation in fact.



FIG. 233.—Damascene Lady with Nezem. LORTET, *La Syrie.*

[1] See, for instance, the enumeration of the spoils taken from the Midianites (*Num.* xxxi. 50, and *Isa.* iii. 16–24) in respect to the ornaments in vogue among the daughters of Zion. A verse in the Song of Songs (i. 10) seems to indicate coins fixed behind the ear, with small chains coming down the sides of the face, exactly similar to those of many Cypriote figures described in a former volume (*Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. pp. 561, 562, Fig. 384).

[2] The last verse makes all doubt impossible; for although Eleazar says, "I put a ring about her face," ISAIAH (iii. 21) and EZEKIEL (xvi. 12) distinctly state, "a jewel for the nose."

[3] LORTET, *La Syrie d'Aujourd'hui*, p. 585. "From Orfa and Edessa, throughout Mesopotamia, it is the custom for girls to have one nostril bored so as to fix a golden ring or nazen." In Arabia, notably in the Nejed, this ring averages from two to two and a half inches (LADY ANNA BLUNT, "Pilgrimage to the Nejed," *Tour du Monde*, tom. xliii. p. 46).

Multitudinous allusions are found in ancient writers of great stores of the precious metals among Eastern princes, treasured up for State emergencies, whilst they were visible symbols of wealth and exalted state, and as such displayed in costly tissues or ornament about their dusky locks and swarthy skin.

The style and forms of the ornaments seen in Israelitish towns and hamlets, whether supplied by Sidonian workshops or of native fabrication—these, as a matter of course, less finely wrought—were akin to the numerous examples published in our volume on Phœnicia, to which we refer the reader.[1] The prodigious quantities of small furniture and jewellery, found even now all over the Mediterranean basin, testify to the commercial activity of the Phœnicians. It is not to be supposed, therefore, that they would have neglected to avail themselves of the opening which offered so near home, and that hawkers from the coast failed to penetrate every nook and corner of Syria. Besides these, there were travelling silversmiths who exercised their handicraft wherever customers were to be found, even as I have often and often seen the same class of workers establish themselves in many a Roumanian and Greek hamlet with their portable furnace, crucible, and small stock-in-trade. If a woman is in want of a personal ornament she takes from her hoard a few coins, according to her means, and in a little while sees them turned into a bangle, a clasp for the waist, or earrings, the artificer deducting a small percentage from the original sum. These primitive goldsmiths were doubtless Phœnician or natives who had learnt the art of the former. The inference that at this school the Israelites acquired sufficient proficiency to pass muster among their countrymen is borne out by the fact that the names of "those who were wise in cunning works in gold, in silver, and in brass," have been preserved (*Exod.* xxxi. 1–16, xxxv. 30–35, xxxvi. 1–3). The ancient Semites of Palestine had no coined money; their commercial transactions were carried on by barter in kind or metals, generally silver, which was carefully weighed by the contracting parties. Gold must have been restricted to personal ornament, for nowhere do we come across a passing allusion to payments having been effected in that commodity.[2] We have seen how important was the art of the potter in

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. chap. x. § 5.

[2] *Gen.* xxiii.; xlvi. 6; lv. 1, 2; *Jer.* xxxii. 9. The shekel seems to have been worth from 12 to 15 grams.

Egypt, Assyria, and Phœnicia; whilst, had all Greek and Roman ceramic monuments been destroyed, we should nevertheless gauge how active and widely diffused this industry had been, from the numerous metaphors having reference to it scattered up and down in Greek and Latin writers. The Hebrews do not seem to have cultivated this handicraft in remote times, for the early books of the Old Testament contain but one solitary allusion to a clay vessel (2 *Sam.* xvii. 28). And the prophets, whose language is usually so figurative, do not borrow their imagery from the art of the potter, if exception be made for Jeremiah, who compares Jehovah with a potter kneading the clay and turning it on the wheel, and, when marred in his hand, casting it aside to make another shape. "What the clay is in the hands of the potter, says the Lord, that are ye in Mine, O house of Israel" (*Jer.* xviii. 1–9).

This passage is important, as proving that clay vessels were manufactured in Jerusalem in the sixth century, but to the English explorers was reserved the honour of revealing their nature, style, and forms.[1] A great number of fragments, some capable of being pieced together, with here and there a perfect or almost perfect vase, were discovered in the accumulated silt and rubbish, both under the haram, the Kedron, and Tyropœon Valleys. Not a few were found at such depths that there is every reason to look upon them as dating before the fall of Jerusalem to the hands of the Chaldees. The pieces recovered here, it is needless to say at this date, in no way resemble the notorious "Moabite pottery," which was recognized for a while as the distinctive ceramic production of a people intimately connected with the Hebrews. Although the fraud was almost immediately exposed, and no one now, even in Germany, dreams of writing up these vessels, they created so much stir in the world of archæologists and Hebrew scholars generally, that we cannot pass them over without a word of mention (Fig. 234). These spurious monuments were acquired at great expense by Prussia in 1873,[2] and bolstered

[1] The qualification used by Jeremiah to denote the gate opening into the Hinnom valley has sometimes been translated by "potters' gate" (*Jer.* xix. 2), implying that a potters' guild existed here. Reuss, however, would have the term rendered by "potsherds," *i.e.* a place where broken vessels and refuse of all sorts were thrown

[2] Those who may be unacquainted with this curious episode should read M. Clermont-Ganneau's sprightly paper, from which the annexed woodcut and accompanying remarks are borrowed (*Les Fausses Potteries Moabites de Berlin*, pp. 101–183, from the volume entitled *Fraudes Archéologiques en Palestine* (in-12, Leroux, 1885).

up by German savants with an amount of zeal and pertinacity worthy of a better cause.

Early in 1872 rumours were set afloat of a number of terra-cottas, which were said to have been brought from Moab, and in the possession of a Protestant Jew named Shapira, a native of Jerusalem. "The collection consisted of small, odd figures, of urns, tablets, vases, literally covered with characters of Phœnician-like aspect. Taken altogether, these objects were exceedingly ludicrous, imbued, too, with a strong element of impropriety, to use a mild word, which, in the opinion of the Teutonic connoisseurs, was deeply impressive."

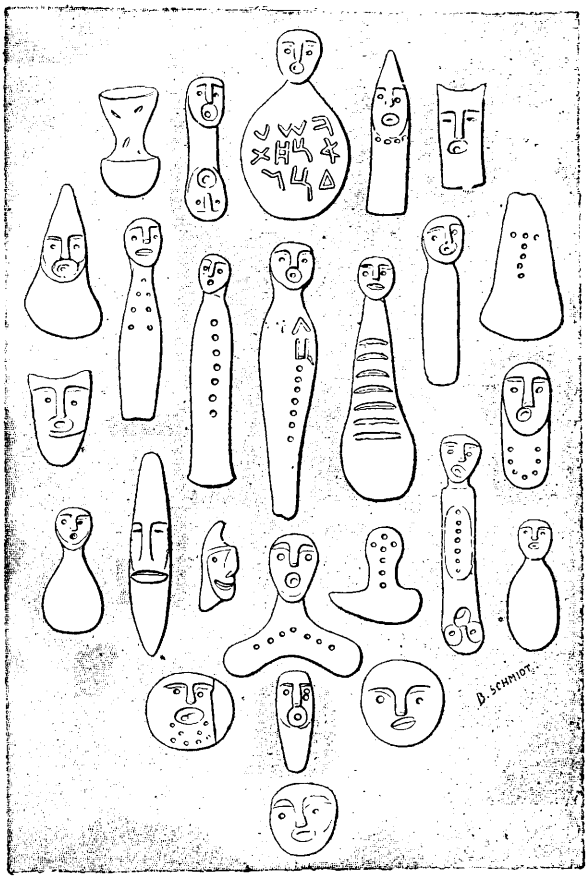


FIG. 234.—Spurious Moabite Pottery. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Fraudes Archéologiques.*

Despite their experience and long sojourn in Palestine, Messrs. Conder and Drake were at first inclined to view the "find" in a favourable light, whilst M. Schlottmann, one among the leading men of Germany, was loud in their praise. On his recommendation the lot was acquired by Prussia for the no small sum of 20,000 thalers. Their genuineness was suspected by M. Ganneau, and during his mission in Palestine he used his opportunities to unmask the author of the fraud. "The material used in the fabrication of these objects was the common clay of the country, unhardened and scarcely baked; diametrically opposed to the paste of baked pottery purporting to have lain buried for

several centuries underground. Examination of the shapes and style of ornament confirmed the impression made by the material. The rudest Cypriote productions are veritable masterpieces when compared with these manikins, at once grotesque and pretentious. There is a deep chasm between the art of early ceramists —no matter how quaint, rudimentary, careless, and childish— and the mechanical, arbitrary method displayed by an Arab trying his hand at superior, fantastic archæology. No one, even with the most casual experience, could be deceived for a moment."

Meanwhile M. Ganneau set inquiries on foot, and after much inquisitorial parley and timely *backshish*, elicited from some of the workmen who were not in the secret, that the figures were modelled for Shapira in one of the back streets of Jerusalem, by one Selim-el-Gari, a native painter known to the Europeans, having been employed to make a partial copy of the Mesa inscription. He watched the place, and at dusk he saw a man coming out of the shop, cautiously looking up and down the street to make sure that the coast was clear; then going back, he emerged after a few minutes with a bundle carefully concealed under his cloak. He followed him, and, when he had turned the corner and was well out of sight of the shop, accosted him and learnt that he was always sent after dark with curious clay pieces to be baked at the kiln, and that he fetched them away in the same mysterious manner.

The disclosure was not well received by learned authorities, whose unbelief was expressed with much warmth and indignation. One and all, however, had gradually to surrender to the "magic of facts." The collection was withdrawn from the Berlin Museum, and if one or two most compromised by the "Moabite pottery," as a natural consequence, clung with the tenacity of despair to their expressed opinion, any lingering hopes they might still harbour were rudely shaken by Shapira's fiasco in 1883, to sell to the British Museum a MS. of the Deuteronomy, written in old Hebrew characters on leather slips, supposed to have been found in a tomb along with a mummy, where it had lain for ages, until it had been found by its fortunate possessor. Again M. Ganneau, on bare inspection of the borders—all he was permitted to see—pronounced it at once a clever and audacious forgery. Its author, held up to universal scorn, was unable to bear the disgrace of

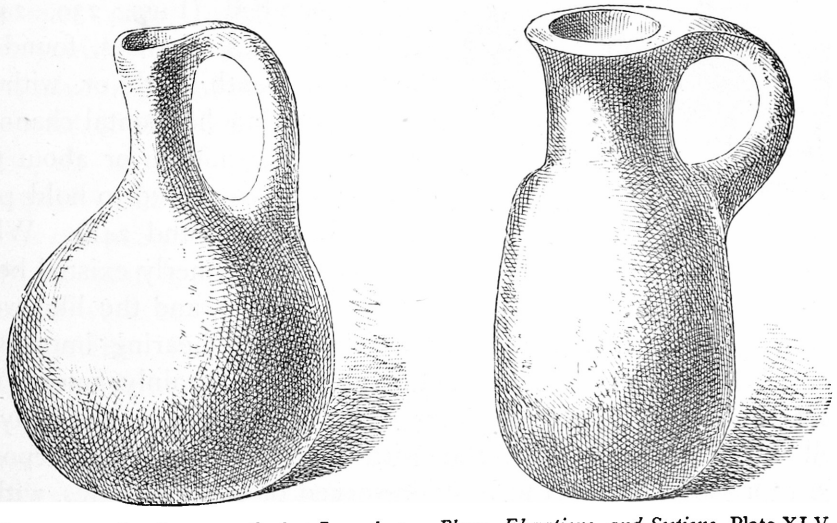
being found out, and put an end to his existence at Rotterdam, where his ill name had followed him.[1]

Needless to say that the Jerusalem examples exhibit none of



FIGS. 235, 236.—Jars unearthed at Jerusalem. *Plans, Elevations, and Sections.* Plate XLV.

the whimsical grotesque features of the "Moabite pottery." They are of no intrinsic value, and scarcely known away from the com-

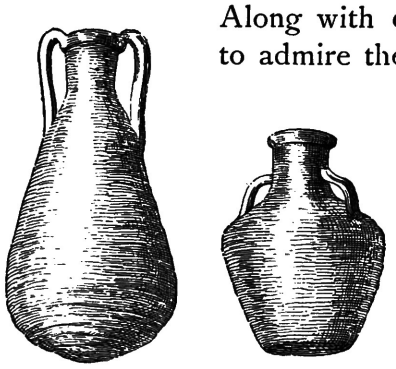


FIGS. 237, 238.—Jars unearthed at Jerusalem. *Plans, Elevations, and Sections,* Plate XLV.

monest ware used for domestic purposes throughout Syria in the present day. Such is, for instance, the small vessel discovered by Sir C. Warren, 3 ft. to the east of the south-east angle of the

[1] *Clermont-Ganneau*, paper entitled "A so-called Original Biblical MS."

haram, where a hole was found scooped out of the rock 1 ft. across and 1 ft. deep. On clearing the earth out of it, the red jar was found standing upright, as though it had been purposely placed there, at a depth of 19 m. from the surface (Fig. 235).[1] This hole was probably part of a sepulchral chamber, which was demolished when the temple area was enlarged, but the pick did not reach the hole, then already filled up with earth. Hence the vessel, perhaps filled with water or perfumes, was preserved through long ages, and has now come out of its hiding-place as perfect and intact as if it had been made yesterday. Vessels of the same nature were picked up on Mount Ophel, at a depth of 18 and 20 m. (Figs. 236, 237, and 238). They are distinguished by the same body, the same thickness of fabric and inelegant shapes, as may be seen any day on the shoulders of Syrian maidens, standing about the fountain indulging in small gossip whilst their jars get filled. Along with other travellers, I was man enough to admire their rich beauty, set off by their picturesque costume. It should be noted that the jars of the present day, doubtless for convenience, are double handled (Figs. 239, 240). A certain class of vases, found at the same depth, with or without handles, having horizontal channels or ribs up the middle or about the neck, may have served to hold perfumes (Figs. 241 and 242). What gives colouring to the hypothesis that kilns formerly existed here, in which large vessels to hold water, oil, wine, and the like were manufactured, are half a dozen handles, each bearing impressed upon it a more or less defined figure, and certainly among the most interesting specimens dug up at Jerusalem. The clay is well baked, red, and covered with a greyish or dusty deposit. We reproduce one of the best preserved of these handles, with a piece of the body still adhering (Fig. 243). It bears a concentric circle, and below it the symbolic winged disc or solar hawk with outstretched wings; above and below these appear Phœnician letters which, by common consent, were interpreted as, Molechzeph or Molochziph. The letters upon another vase handle have been



FIGS. 239, 240.—Modern Jars in Palestine. *Stade-Geschichte*, p. 368.

[1] *Recovery*, pp. 140 and 476.

tentatively deciphered as Molochith. In other examples the characters are uncertain or obliterated, but in every instance enough remains to identify them with those of the Silwan and Ezekiel's monuments.

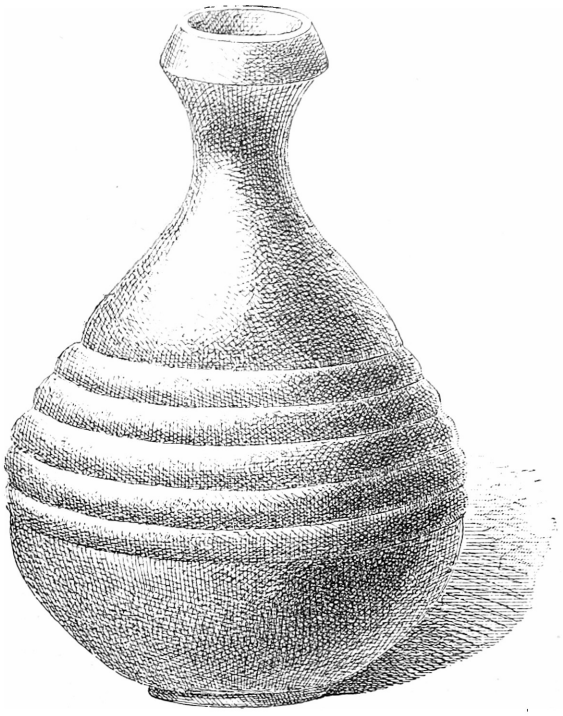


FIG. 241.—Vase unearthed at Jerusalem. *Plans, Elevations, and Sections*, Plate XLV.

There is reason, therefore, to refer these vases and broken-up fragments to the era of Jeremiah, perhaps even earlier, whilst the names that appear on them were probably those of the potters in whose workshops they were manufactured. It has been erroneously supposed that the best-preserved legend is capable of being divided into Molech, god, and ziph, a proper name or a mere translatable word, expressive of one of the attributes of the deity: "The all-seeing," for example.[1] But against this theory is the unquestionable fact, that names compounded of Molech were borne by Israelites under the kings, so that it is difficult to pronounce whether the names in question were borne by Jews or Phœnician craftsmen established at Jerusalem. However that may be, English excavations have brought to light a number of specimens of a different character from the above, which are of undoubted Punic origin, faithfully reproducing the types which we have studied in Cyprus. They are of yellowish colour, profusely ornamented with barred and interlaced patterns of dark red. The largest exemplar is a fragment

[1] This interpretation was proposed by M. J. B. Greene (*Quarterly Statements*, pp. 304–311, 1881). We follow the opinion of Ganneau as more plausible and likely. The *lamed*, equivalent to the possessive genitive, suggests the factory or the potter "ziph" or "zeph," originator of the vessel, rather than its dedication to one of the Baalim. The proper name Ziph or Zapha occurs but once in the Old Testament (1 *Chron.* iv. 16).

of a single-handled jar, and by reason of a perforated stoppage in the interior of the neck, like that of the Egyptian "gulleh," was probably used for water (Fig. 244). It was found in the Muristan together with a smaller fragment (Fig. 245). Others, two of which were recovered near Barclay's Gate, and the third at Genneth Gate, are mere chips, important nevertheless on account of the designs (Figs. 246, 247, and 248), consisting of parallel lines and bands, crossing each other at different angles with white dots, squares, lozenges, triangles, and meanders on dark ground, typical, as the above, of Cypriote pottery,[1] either imported from the coast cities, or manufactured at Jerusalem by Phœnician craftsmen. The resemblance is so striking between these vessels of different locality, that we had no hesitation in ascribing to Phœnicia the unique vase of this class, picked up in almost a perfect state at Jerusalem, now in the Louvre.[2]



FIG. 242.—Vessel found at Jerusalem. *Plans, Elevations, and Sections*, Plate XLV.

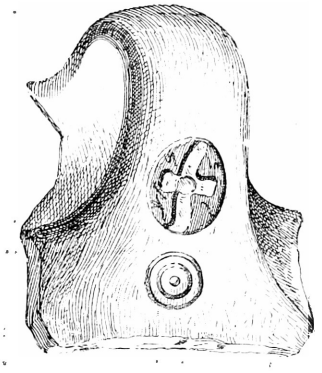


FIG. 243.—Marks on Handles of Amphoræ.

The difference of level in which this pottery was found—the ornamented fragments lying from four to six metres below the surface, has led to the conclusion that they belong to a much later period.[3] Precisely similar ware, albeit somewhat more archaic, has been encountered from time to time on the surface of the ground in the land of Moab.[4] In the same group and the same era, may be placed a dish of brown earthenware,

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. chap. x. § 2.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 670, Fig. 478.

[3] In regard to this subject, see explanations which accompany the drawings that we have reproduced from Plate XLIV., *Atlas of the Palestine Exploration Fund.*

[4] These fragments are in the "Jewish Room" in the Louvre (HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, *Notice des Monuments provenant de la Palestine*, note 7, 1877).

dug up in a cave near Olivet (Fig. 249). It is quite plain, remarkable for having its feet perforated like handles, as if for the purpose of suspension when the utensil was not in use. Such a disposition is likewise met with in a Cypriote crater.[1] The mediocre style of the older Hebrew pottery should cause no surprise, for we incline to the belief that it did not come into use until the Israelites had renounced their wandering mode of life. Clay vessels, it should be recollected, are more ponderous, easily broken, and more difficult to procure than skins, wooden utensils, or gourds. The nomad is obliged to move to great distances in search of pasturage as the seasons come round, along with all his belongings; hence the necessity to reduce these to their utmost minimum. Even in a more settled state of life, generations must have passed before these deep-rooted habits were changed, though the necessity for them had ceased to exist. When the Hebrews became tillers of the soil, the advantages of earthen utensils must ere long have been acknowledged. They cost little, are easily kept clean, and may be procured of the shape required; whilst they are invaluable in a hot country as coolers. The author of the charming narrative to be read in *Gen.* xxv. 14 has not told us whether the pitcher which Rebecca let down from her shoulder upon her hand that Eleazar might drink, was of clay, copper, or wood, but the Hebrew word used in this passage is *kad*, equivalent to the Greek κάδος, Latin *cadus*, always applied by Greeks and Romans to an earthen vessel.[2] The term was borrowed from the Phœnicians

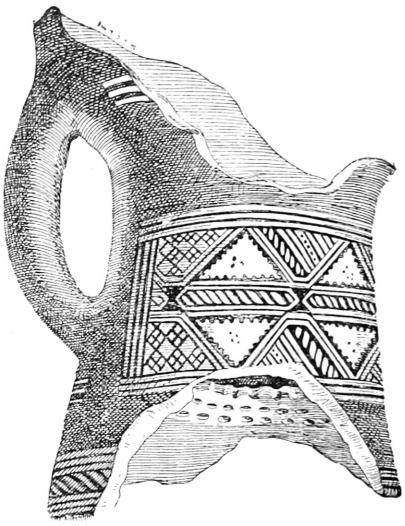


FIG. 244.—Fragment of Vase. *The Recovery*, p. 478.

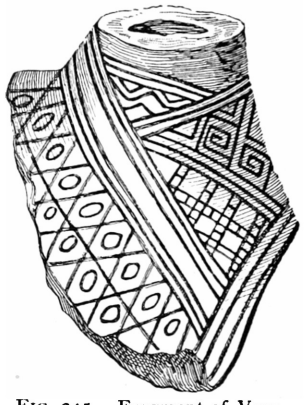


FIG. 245.—Fragment of Vase. *The Recovery*, p. 478.

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. Fig. 508.

[2] Modern Italian *cattino*.—EDITOR.

who were the first to supply the Greeks and the Italians with earthenware, the primitive word passing in both languages.

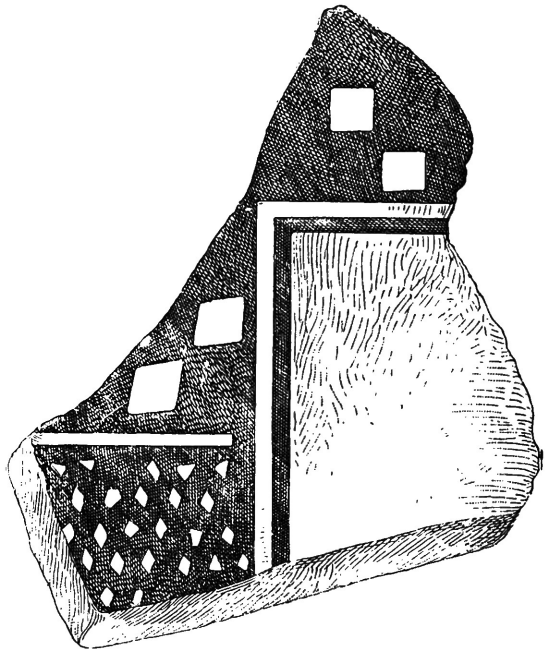
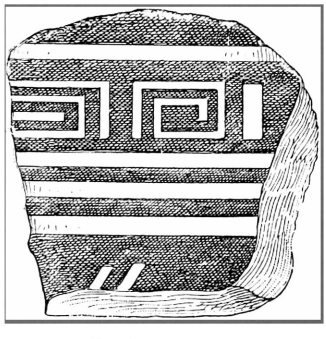
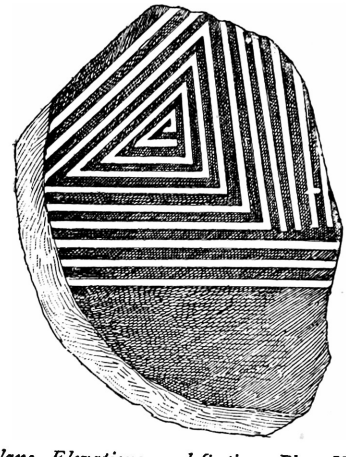


FIG. 246.—Fragments of Vases. *Plans, Elevations, and Sections*, Plate XLV.

The Philistines and the Phœnicians had imported in very early days the potter's art from Egypt. Their cities became centres of manufacture and exportation, and were the means of diffusing the more elementary processes of the handicraft in Canaan; so that the Hebrews found it in full swing on their arrival. They adopted the common ware of the country for domestic purposes; show pieces, however, were in no request until towards the end of the monarchy; perhaps not until the Persian rule, when pottery was enlivened with a variety of tints and elegant designs. The supposition of clay vessels having been exported





FIGS. 247, 248.—Fragments of Vases. *Plans, Elevations, and Sections*, Plate XLV.

from Judæa to the Mediterranean islands cannot be entertained

for a single moment; the inference, therefore, is irresistible that as in Cyprus so in Jerusalem also, all the specimens that have come to light up to the present moment must be recognized as Phœnician. They are low in tone, with patterns formed by a combination of geometric lines of "seeming" intricacy, albeit never confused and easily read. In a word, they are distinguished by all the characteristics of Sidonian art-products.

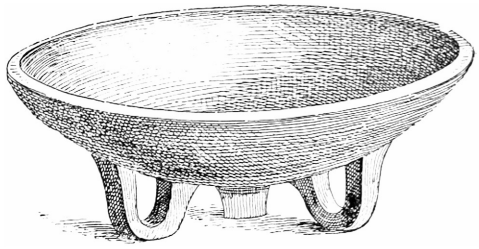


FIG. 249.—Dish of Black Earthenware, 25 c. in diameter. *Recovery*, p. 477.

Of foreign origin are certainly also curious vessels made of an extremely hard, massive, black ware, coated in three examples with a dark crimson glaze, perhaps produced by cinnabar; five out of the seven pieces, including the perfect one, are in the shape of a pine-cone; the neck, where it is preserved, is short, and the orifice extremely small. The small end of the cone being downwards, it is clear that these flasks were not intended to stand upright (Fig. 250).[1] It might have been supposed, with some show of reason, that they were funereal vessels containing perfumes, placed along with the dead. Closer examination, however, induced M. Greville Chester, from whom we quote, to insert a bent quill down the narrow neck of the perfect bottle, when small flakes of bees'-wax and globules of quicksilver were seen adhering to the quill. It therefore seems almost certain that these vases were purposely so shaped for the importation and preservation of mercury. Their massiveness, and the narrowness of the neck, which insures easy stoppage, renders them peculiarly appropriate. The bees'-wax was used for closing the mouth.[2]

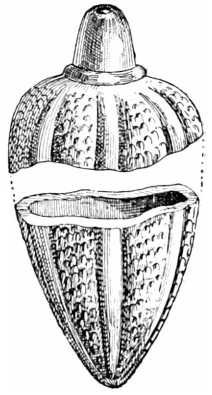


FIG. 250.—Bottle. Size of the original. *The Recovery*, p. 480.

Glass was likewise obtained from Phœnicia.[3] Great quantities of

[1] *Recovery*, pp. 479, 480.

[2] According to M. Ganneau, such recipients were caps or fulminates, used in letting off Greek fires, the mercury which formed their basis having been set free by the disintegrating action of time. See Appendix.

[3] Loewy, "Notices concerning Glass in Ancient Hebrew Records" (*Proceedings of Biblical and Archæological Society*, pp. 84–86, 1881, 1882).

fragments of ancient glass were dug up in the various excavations. Most of these—extremely beautiful from their iridescent colour—were too minute to be worth preserving. The only piece in good preservation is a flagon which was found in a sepulchral cave on Olivet, with a dish already described. Its singular shape should be noticed. It consists of twin recipients and twin handles; a third, now disappeared, originally arched over the top. The colour is a pale green, with raised circular or running lines, of a much darker tint approaching to blue (Fig. 251).[1] The composition of this unique vessel is both elegant and original, and should be classed among the finest Sidonian art-products, which we treated at length in a former volume.[2]

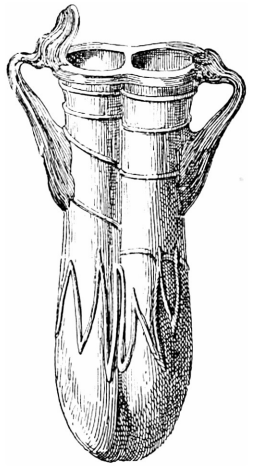


Fig. 251.—Glass Flagon. Size of the original. *Recovery*, p. 489.

Glass must have been known at a very remote date in Judæa, owing to the abundance and good quality of the necessary soda, which the Arabs of the desert extract from the ashes of saliferous plants (ice-plant), growing in the clefts of the rocks, more especially around the shores of the Dead Sea. These ashes are all taken to the glass manufactory at Hebron, where a whole sack fetches but a few pence. The low price both of material and labour may account for the industry never having discontinued at Hebron; despite the political calamities that have swept over the land, and, of late years, competition from the West. The few objects that have been found in Hebrew tombs preclude any satisfactory conclusion being arrived at as to the shapes and designs of native glass. The following woodcut, figuring a white opaque glass flagon, has been ascribed to Jewish origin. It is divided into six panels, each decorated with forms in high relief, and a ring of leaves around the bottom. The clustering grapes and pomegranates are easily read; not so the remaining form, which may be a citron or a rough-skinned coloquinta at will. The seams under the foot of the vessel show that the fused body was blown on three hollow cores or pipes (Fig. 252).[3] The exact locality of this flagon is not known; save that Perétié picked it up somewhere in Syria. Its

[1] *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. chap. x. § 3. M. Greville Chester, *Recovery*.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 735, 738.

[3] We borrow our description and observation from De Longpérier, *Vase Juif antique dans Œuvres*, tom. i. pp. 192–195.

characteristic ornament, however, is essentially Jewish, enabling us, if not to fix a certain date, at least to place it long after the exile, made too by an Israelite for an Israelite. Needless to observe that the knop and flower pattern surrounding the flask is decidedly Oriental; being seen on the bronze cups recovered at Nineveh, and on many a small enamelled clay object, which we assigned to Phœnicia;[1] whilst the motives are of the type described in another place as within the range of the Hebrew ornamentist, to which we refer our reader (Figs. 157, 159).

Costly artistic furniture did not take real footing in Judæa, among princes and persons of great wealth, till after Solomon. Large pieces, as chests, tables, chairs, and so forth, were made of cedar, cypress, oak, and olive, sometimes inlaid with small cubes of different colour and shape, or with ivory set out in pleasing, simple patterns. In the figurative language of the Canticles, the bed of Solomon is decorated by threescore valiant men, *i.e.* figures in high relief; and his chariot is of cedar from Lebanon, the pillars of silver, the bottom of gold (iii. 7–9); whilst the splendour displayed about the temple has already been noticed. The canopy, the curtains, the coverlets, the cushions about the beds or couches on which they reclined were of the richest materials, supplied by neighbouring nations. The looms of Damascus were kept employed by the ruling classes of the northern kingdom (*Amos* iii. 12); and Tyre despatched carpets or tapestries enlivened by broidered kerūbs for the tabernacle (*Exod.* xxvi. 1). The ivory which she wrought into small slabs or plaques, for exportation to the Continent and the Mediterranean islands, was obtained from



FIG. 252.—Glass Flagon. Size of the original. Louvre. Drawn by St. Elme Gautier.

[1] LAYARD, *A Second Series of Monuments of Nineveh*, Plate LVII. E. fig. 59 B. and C.; *Hist. of Art*, tom. iii. Plate V. figs. 1, 4.

India and Central Africa. We have instances of the diffusion of ivory as a means of enrichment, in the strictures of the Prophet Amos two centuries later, when he inveighs against the rich because of their effeminacy, their ivory couches, and ivory halls (vi. 4), *i.e.* encrusted with pieces of ivory. Ivory wardrobes are specified in the 45th Psalm, but of what form or size we cannot determine. Finally we read that Ahab "had built him an ivory house in Samaria" (1 *Kings* xxii. 39). Musical instruments, whether for religious or festive purposes, were doubtless richly ornamented with ivory.

Elaborate sculpture, bronze vessels and utensils, coverlets of dyed wools, tapestries, and countless other instances of tinted and showy furniture, employed sometimes upon the decoration of domestic apartments, were especially reserved for temples and other public buildings or objects of some public use. For if we except the monarch and his immediate surroundings, who aped Asiatic manners and Asiatic dress, the bulk of the people had retained much of their primitive simplicity.[1] Thus the Shunammite woman was a person of wealth, yet when she wished to show hospitality to the prophet Elias, she had to build "a little chamber on the wall," and the only objects she set therein were a bed, a table, a stool and a candlestick (2 *Kings* iv. 10). The materials for dress were the flax or hemp of native growth and the fleeces of sheep, which the women prepared, spun and wove in primitive hand looms, even as they do at the present day in rural districts; and garments of a delicate and costly description did not obtain until the latter part of the monarchy. The woollen cloak, probably dyed brown or black, as the modern *'abba*, was a great protection against the scorching rays of the sun, of cold and rain. A tunic (*kuttôneth*), covered the body down to the ankles, with long sleeves reaching to the knees, drawn in at the waist by a broad leather belt.[2] The cloak (*simla*), like the Greek ἱμάτιον, the Roman toga, was reserved for outdoor wear, travelling, or on public

[1] The "purple garments" specified in *Judg.* viii. 26 as worn by the Midianite kings, seem to be antedated; interpolated without rhyme or reason among the spoils made by Gideon (STADE, *Geschichte*, p. 372).

[2] When the Greeks and Græco-Italians left off sheeps' skins and adopted the woven tissues of the Semites, they likewise borrowed the names by which they were known among Asiatics; thus *kuttôneth* came to be known as χίτων, *tunica*, respectively. Jeremiah mentions "a linen belt" folded round the waist (xiii. 1).

occasions; when hard at work or in the house the tunic was the sole outer garment.[1] As we have seen, the priests[2] in the exercise of their office wore a linen tunic, *ephod bad*, or *ephod*, for short. The head was not shaved as in Egypt, but out of doors was covered with a piece of cloth akin to the modern Arab *kuffeiyeh*, which fell over the neck and shoulders, bound to the head with a cord. A precisely similar headdress is seen on a captive sculptured in bas-relief on the wall of the temple of Ammon at Karnac, probably recording the expedition of Sesac against Rehoboam. Close to this the Egyptian Pharaoh is portrayed, his arm raised against the numerous host he has destroyed; whilst those he has spared are ranged a little to the rear with arms tied behind their backs; the name of each being written on the shield which covers the lower portion of the body. Most names have disappeared; one of the legends, however, has been interpreted as Iutah Melek, king or realm of Judah (Fig. 253). It would be idle attempting to prove —as has been tried—that we have in this representation a portrait of Rehoboam. On the other hand, it is pretty evident that the Egyptian sculptor intended to symbolize the vanquished Israelites in this bas-relief; and that there should be no mistake, he gave it the peculiar features and characteristic headgear of the nation it represented.[3]

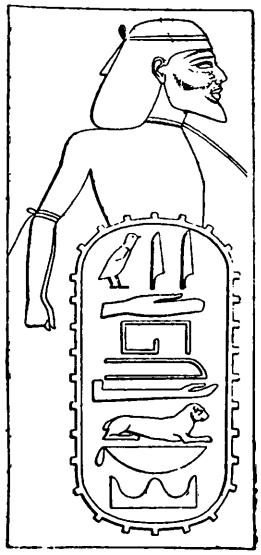


FIG. 253.—Hebrew Prisoner. Karnac. ROSELLINI, *Monumenti reali*, Plate CXLVIII.

The chief dress of the women was also a long tunic, with wide flowing sleeves, striped in many colours—red, yellow, green, and crimson—to which may have been added embroidery or work done with the needle, in which women were such great adepts that they could make it look as if really woven or raised in elegant patterns, having the

[1] The word "meil" or "may" seems to imply a special and richer cloak, affected by persons of wealth or rank (1 *Sam.* xv. 1; xviii. 4; xxiv. 5; xxviii. 14).

[2] With respect to the word "ephod," see *ante*, pp. 336, 337.

[3] CHAMPOLLION was the first who perceived and pointed out the importance of this interesting monument (*Letters écrites d'Egypte et de Nubie*, pp. 98, 99. Paris, 1881, in-8°). The late DE ROUGÉ coincided with the reading proposed by the Egyptologist patriarch (*Memoirs sur l'Origine Egyptienne de l'Alphabet Phenicien*, p. 53, 1874). ROSELLINI, *Monumenti reali*, Plate CXLVIII.

appearance at a short distance of a low relief.[1] A linen undergarment came to be worn by persons of refined and sumptuous habits; in the course of time its use became universal.[2] The cloak of the women was distinguished from that of men by its richer colouring and greater amplitude.[3] All these costly textiles were imported from the neighbouring countries, Chaldæa, Phœnicia, and Egypt (*Isa.* iii. 16–24; *Ezek.* xvi. 10–19). Coloured and broidered vestments are alluded to in *Judg.* v. 30. A veil covering the head and neck, and a metal mirror carried in the hand, were indispensable items of a lady's dress; whilst sandals, tied round the ankle by leather straps, were common to both sexes.

No bas-relief or statuette of Jewish origin has come down to us to enable us to restore the complete national costume. A pretty fair idea may, however, be formed from that in vogue at the present day among the Druses and Maronites. Were it possible to bring to life a daughter of Israel with her rich dress, profusely ornamented with jewellery, as points and sparkles to the drapery floating around her like a glorified mist, we may be sure that no matter how brilliant or gorgeous the selection of the tints, they would yet harmonize and melt into each other in the effulgent light of Eastern sunshine.

[1] 2 *Sam.* i. 24; xiii. 18, 19. We read that "Jacob loved Joseph more than all his children, so he made him a coat of many colours" (*Gen.* xxxvii. 3). That was tantamount to giving him a woman's dress.

[2] Linen in Hebrew *sadin*; Greek σινδών.

[3] The modern cloak of the women is narrower and shorter than that of the men. —EDITOR.



CHAPTER VI.

HEBREW ARCHÆOLOGY AND HEBREW LITERATURE CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF ART.

IF we have studied with a decree of care, which may have seemed too minute, the smallest relics of Jewish art and industry, it was not entirely because of the place which Israel holds in the world's annals, albeit to an inquiring mind the reason might appear sufficient; since few will be found indifferent to aught that pertains to a people "whose religion became the stem of the general religion of the world."[1] On the other hand, we could not ignore that the Hebrews, through the voice of their best qualified representatives, abjured sculpture, the noblest of plastic arts; that they not only neglected it, but proscribed it aloud; unhesitatingly immolating it to the crowning of the passionate effort which was directed to the purifying ever more of their creed and public worship, ultimately rising to "the conception of the divine." It seemed natural, therefore, that in a survey of plastic arts, the space allotted to the Jewish division should have been more sparingly dealt out, the more so that images came to be ruthlessly broken and banished from their midst; deliberately setting their faces and stiffening themselves against any lurking proclivity to translate their ideas, like the rest of the world, into tangible forms.

We could not, however, make up our minds to such a line of conduct. The Jews, though specially jealous and adverse to any innovation that interfered with their religious observances, had not the same objection to architecture; hence it came to pass that their buildings could favourably compare with those of the surrounding Asiatic nations. There was yet another advantage in taking upon ourselves the archæological exploration of Palestine, making it as

[1] RENAN, "Les Origines de la Bible" (*Revue des Deux-Mondes*, p. 259, 15 Mars, 1886).

complete as possible, that it might supplement our researches respecting Phœnicia. The civilization of the latter, owing to the circumstances that were dwelt upon in the preceding volume, left more traces abroad than in the mother country, which merely served as basis for her trading operations. If we follow the shores of the Mediterranean from one end to another, we shall gain a pretty accurate idea as to the range over which the influence of Phœnicia was exercised, and the deep roots that she threw out wherever she went. Evidence of her wide spread is to be found in abundance in classic writers, confirming the testimony of monuments; whilst almost every day discoveries are made which add to the store we already possessed, and by comparison enable us to estimate each at its real value. We now come to the question that was raised in the course of this inquiry, but which was left unanswered; namely, how far did Punic industrial centres make their action felt in the interior of the Asiatic continent? Classic literature will not help us to solve the problem, for until Alexander the Greeks knew very little of the rolling, boundless plains which stretched beyond their limits. Hebrew writers give us some information with regard to the all-embracing trade of Tyre, but they leave us as completely in the dark in other respects, as if it had never existed. For instance, it will be remembered how delicate, not to say impossible, a matter it was to discern metal pieces in high relief, figured or engraved, which from their characteristics might have been executed in Mesopotamia, as they might have issued from a Punic workshop. This applies with equal force to chiselled ivory, one of the chief articles of the industry of Tyre, Sidon, and Carthage; on the other hand, prodigious quantities have been found in the Tigris Valley. Then, too, by what sign manual are we to recognize Syrian glass from that which was manufactured in the delta? We know how freely Phœnicia borrowed from nationalities older than herself in the march of civilization, but we have no evidence by which to estimate what she gave in return, when she was sufficiently instructed to set up factories and workshops of her own, filling her stores with all manner of precious woods, wine, wrought iron, spices, wool, and all the riches of the East, which she sold at high prices to the rest of the world. One and all are distinguished by Eastern forms and Eastern workmanship, but who shall declare whether they were originally executed in Assyria, in Egypt, or were mere

Phœnician imitations, presenting the peculiar characteristics of either country, as served the turn of these universal adapters? The sin of Phœnicia has found her out. She grew rich at this trade; for the people to whom she sold these articles were unable to distinguish genuine from counterfeit objects. Hence the stupendous difficulties experienced by antiquarians in trying to classify these monuments and separate the spurious from the genuine. It not unfrequently happens that in their conscientious fear lest they should assign to one country what of right belongs to another, they abstain to pass judgment and leave as "doubtful" countless objects that may have been elaborated in the workshops of Phœnicia, testifying to her activity and the briskness of her trade, causing posterity to perpetrate towards her the same injustice that she practised against her contemporaries.

It is not by the drawing up of fast and dry rules, obviously inadequate to deal with the whole question, that the student may hope to remove obstacles and uncertainties which beset his path, but by patient observation, keen insight, and swift perception of features that are found more or less accentuated in all Punic creations. Now if Phœnicia scattered her industrial products wherever she found a market for them, if they are met with to-day in almost every part of the ancient world, greater or less difficulty is experienced, according to the district in which they are recovered, sharply to differentiate those that were made on parent models, from those of a later phase and consequent development, represented by Carthage, where they undoubtedly were native fabrications.

When an object is dug up in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, or Italy, until disproved, the presumption is that it was the natural product of local industry which for centuries was so fertile in rich results. The early productions of the two last-named countries, be it jewelry, vessels of all kinds and material, textiles, furniture, and so forth, closely recall Eastern forms and mode of ornament, making it difficult to separate imported objects from those that were made at home on Eastern patterns. Both were exceedingly productive during their imitative and transitional stage, which covered a long space of time, so that the amount of material which confronts the student and upon which he has to decide is well-nigh overwhelming. A large proportion cannot be classified with any degree of certainty; for arrangement and artistic forms of ornament

might with equal propriety be assigned to Phœnicia as to the incipient efforts of these two nations, whose happy admixture of blood combined sturdy good sense with a peculiar facility in elaborating beauty, whether of proportion, colour, or form. This does not apply to countries such as Sardinia and Judæa, where the softening influence of civil life was entirely due to their point of touch with Phœnicia, she awakening in them those gentle instincts and tastes which are inherent to man, but which had lain dormant hitherto. It follows therefore that the whole range of art products and industries ever possessed by the twin kingdoms of Israel, were either executed by Phœnicians or under Phœnician influence, and were they all set out before us, we should find in them precisely the same characteristics that we delineated in our chapter on Punic industries. If this be granted, then some idea may be formed of the important gains that have accrued to archæology by the Palestine excavations. A single example will show that not all were biblical gains, but that the antiquarian came in for his share; for these excavations have elucidated the vexed question of Phœnician pottery, which had been shrouded in thick mist. Historians had indeed told us that extensive ceramic factories existed in all the towns of the coast, whose trade was not confined to the Mediterranean, but had extended beyond the Pillars of Heracles. Nevertheless, no earthen vessel had been found in old tombs of Phœnicia proper, by which a true estimate of their peculiar characteristics could be formed.

The ceramic examples exhumed in the necropoles of Cyprus were ascribed to Phœnicia, consequently the forms and whole scheme of ornament which distinguish them were carefully tabulated so as to interpenetrate the methods of the Punic potter. It was at best only conjecture, for the island had been inhabited by people of different blood, which at a remote period had come from north Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece, so that we could never be quite sure that the objects we had before us were not to be set to the account of one or other of these races rather than to influx from without. No such doubt exists with regard to the coloured vessels dug up at Jerusalem; those that were found in the lower strata may safely be pronounced as contemporary with the kings of Judah, when everything partook of a Phœnician character, save the fervid spirit of the prophets, which was gradually but surely elaborating its sublime ideal of justice and purity of life.

Comparison of the Jerusalem and Cypriote examples, enables us to place the former among Phœnician fictiles imported from the coast; and if of local manufacture, it was either under Phœnician supervision or indebted for its forms and ornament to Tyrian models. It is highly probable that vessels (of later date?) were executed at Tyre and Kition, ornamented with vegetable, floral, animal, and human forms; which future discoveries will enable us to class, if not with certainty, at least with some degree of verisimilitude among Phœnician productions. Meanwhile, much that was obscure when we tried to determine the characteristics of early Greek pottery, is now as clear as daylight; for we know where to look for the types which served them as primitive models—types which flooded every market open to the Tyrian trades. This incalculable gain is due to half a dozen vase handles, treasured up by the English explorers; who, mayhap, were not at first aware of the far-reaching importance of their "find"—amounting to a revelation. However great may have been the results of the Palestine explorations, they have left problems that cannot be solved by pick or spade. For our part, had they never taken place—with all they imply—we should none the less have lingered about Jerusalem, because, of all Semitic races, the Hebrews are the only people whose ancient records were preserved in texts which could be easily read and translated. Chaldæa and Assyria have certainly left a superabundance of documents of varying length; most, however, are mutilated; and all are written in the peculiar arrow-headed characters which are known to very few. Partly owing to the state of the documents, partly from disagreement in regard to certain words, letters or signs, no two decipherments are precisely alike; so that uncertainty of significance and value exists about many a passage. In respect to the Phœnicians, they were more eager to get rich than trouble themselves about recondite ideas and thoughts that would bring no increment to their coffers. Hence it is, that although Punic inscriptions may be counted by thousands, three or four pages of an ordinary folio would cover all that is not the wearisome repetition of formulas, wherein proper names alone ring the change. Inscriptions, however circumstantial, drawings, plans, etc., however minute, can never give us the amplitude, the fulness, the lifelike vividness of an individual or a people, such as we find in all literary productions. This is the reason why we know comparatively so little of

nationalities that have left no literature, why the Hebrews, although they were scarcely taken into account by the great nations of antiquity, owe it to their written records to be classed among the foremost.

In our delineation of the Semitic temple—certainly older than the Greek sanctuary, and which may have served as its model—we showed that it was everywhere the same; though the deities that were worshipped in it might be different according to time and place. In our study upon Phœnicia, we made use of the smallest indications interspersed in classic writers; we passed in review every little vestige of the places of worship, both in Syria, in Cyprus, and the more distant colonies of Gaulos and Malta. Nevertheless, when we cast about for a reconstruction from base to crown of a Punic specimen of architecture, we were fain to look for it in the temple of Jerusalem. Had the sacred building of Jupiter at Olympia, or the Parthenon, been as utterly destroyed, no one would have dreamt attempting a restoration on the mere verbal description of Pausanias; although we can do so aided by examination of the actual remains. Nor can the information to be gleaned in Strabo and Pliny, compare for a single moment with the descriptions of the buildings of Jerusalem in the Bible, and the paraphrase of them in Josephus, both of which have been our chief guides. We may smile at the importance given by the chronicler and the prophet of the exile to details that verge on the puerile; but for them, however, we should not have been rash enough to try our hand at rebuilding the most conspicuous structure on Moriah. Our ambition went yet further afield: we hoped, through the house of Lebanon, to reconstitute in a satisfactory manner, the type of the Semitic temple which seemed irretrievably lost; we wished to place before our readers an exemplar which should unite the general features to be found in all; which, considered in its broad aspects, constitutes a building as divergent from the Greek sanctuary as it is from the Christian church. The Semitic temple has something of the aglutinous Semitic phrase; whilst the Grecian sacred building might be likened to the translucent flowing period of a Sophocles or a Plato; secondary ideas being grouped in marvellous order around the dominant one, held together by particles which, whilst they determine the place which each is to occupy, serve to show the subordinate position of each. On the other hand, with Hebrew prose or poetry, ideas

follow one another by juxtaposition and repetition rather than strict adhesion. Art there is, no doubt, in the parallelism of these short sentences, of images that follow in an ascending scale, each adding to each, so as to produce the greatest effect. Yet how inferior is this art to the admirable ordering of the Grecian period —diversified, yet one—wherein, as in organic beings, life is diffused throughout the parts from a motive centre which regulates its multiform rich activity.

The Hellenic temple is marked by the same characteristic concentration and living unity. Propylea, ranged architecturally, may precede it, as at Eleusis; sacred groves peopled with votive œdicula may surround it, as at Olympia; no matter how vast its area, we feel that on the sacred building was directed the main effort of the architect and those with him. Its dimensions were regulated by those of the statue representing the deity, which stands enthroned in the cella, and which may be bronze, marble, gold, or ivory; the arts of the builder, the sculptor, and the painter, each in his separate province, worked out one of the most stupendous types ever elaborated by man, an habitation worthy of the deity. Nevertheless, each member is as distinct from the sacred centre as the adjacent grove; approaches may be enlarged, secondary buildings may be multiplied, without detracting from the interest attaching to it. We instinctively feel that all were created to its honour; and this glory which it has received it reflects back as in a looking-glass, through the long rows of statues, colonnades, bas-reliefs, paintings, with every stone that went to the building of it, one and all bearing witness to the collective effort of a whole generation.

The Semitic temple, like the Egyptian, is an aggregation of parts around a small sanctuary; but without ever having attained the stupendous development which characterizes the sacred edifices in the Nile Valley. Whether the adytum contains an ark in which the divine symbol is kept out of sight, as at Jerusalem, or a conical stone exposed to the gaze of the vulgar, as at Paphos, it is always unimportant as far as size is concerned. Beautiful mural decoration it may have, but it can never compare with the eloquent, living expression which the adjuncts of statuary are able to impart, and which are never absent from the Grecian temple. Hence the Semitic sanctuary preserved throughout its existence, down to the first centuries of Islamism, much of the character for which

it was originally built: namely, a shelter for the rude image; so that, despite spacious courts, and dependencies of all kinds, it never grew into a real temple, but remained to the end a mere cella.

In this part of our history we have been mainly concerned with a monument, the mere naming of which is apt to stir the heart and imagination of most people, whatever their individual creed. We propose later on to enlarge upon and explain the points of divergence which distinguish the Semitic temple, as against the Hellenic, and to note as we proceed the manner of their progress.

Considering the state of the area upon which once stood the temple of Jerusalem, and the scantiness of documents relating thereto, we should, perhaps, have abstained attempting its restoration, had not Ezekiel seemed to beckon to us from the holy mount, holding out to our curiosity the type, in the abstract, of the Semitic sacred building.

We now take leave of the Phœnicians, until we shall meet them again in their relations with the Greeks, whom they at first influenced, but who in time reacted back, returning with interest what they had received from their former masters.[1]

[1] The reason for having omitted to transcribe the texts, relative to the temple, to be found in Kings and Ezekiel, should have been given much earlier. It is briefly as follows:—A similar transliteration, obtained through a German and French version, could not be as satisfactory as a first-hand one, which every reader possesses in his own Bible, and with which he is thoroughly familiar. There is more: as the temple of Ezekiel has no foundation in fact, it was deemed expedient to eliminate from that part of the narrative such details as were not explanatory of the illustrations, the excellence of which is beyond praise.—EDITOR.

END OF VOL. I.

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